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Ship Arrives in Durres With Returning Refugees

AU1103132091 Tirana ATA in English 1306 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—"Tirana" ship with about (?2,111) persons among those who had fled recently by various ships entered the Durres port in the first hours of today. Among those who returned, the majority were children not accompanied by parents, parents who had left to find them, as well as other persons who returned at their desire. They were from Durres and other districts of the country. Many citizens were present outside the port to welcome their relatives. The power organs had taken all the measures to receive them. A great number of ambulances were on the spot together with the necessary staff as well as with the representatives of the Albanian Red Cross. A medical team aboard a tug boat sailed to "Tirana " ship, to preliminarily assess the health situation and make the possible prophylaxis. According to the data by the medical team there was no worrying health problem, not even among the little children.

They descended the ship regularly without any problem. They were told that no measures would be taken against them and were suggested to begin work and classes as earlier in their enterprises and schools.

The citizens residing in Durres went home, whereas the others left for their districts by bus or train.

Internal Situation Prompts International Reactions

UN Delegation Pays Official Visit

AU1103200091 Tirana ATA in English 1842 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Foreign Ministry, a delegation of the UN Organization [UNO], made up of Stefano de Misture, special envoy of the UN secretary general; Sergio de Mello, director of Department for Foreign Relations at the Supreme Commissariat of the UNO for Refugees; and Mirza Hussain Khan, specialist for the problems of south Europe at the Regional Bureau of Europe and North America [names of delegation members as received], arrived in Tirana on March 11.

The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Dr. Hasan Mucostepa, director of department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Italy's Martelli, Others Arrive

AU1103195791 Tirana ATA in English 1909 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—Claudio Martelli, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, arrived on an official visit in Albania on March 11 afternoon. He is accompanied Franco Caruso, diplomatic adviser; Alessandro Graffini, vice-chief of the cabinet of the Foreign Affairs Minister Gianni de Michelis; Giuseppe Fantore, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

They were welcomed at the airport by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Shkelqim Cani; the vice-minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka, etc.

PDSh Appeals for 'Urgent' European, U.S. Aid

AU1103222491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Report on communinque issued by the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party]

[Text] The Democratic Party [PDSh] organized its regular news conference in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in Tirana this morning, devoted to the problems of the refugees in Italy and the electoral campaign.

Prec Zogaj, chairman of the Editorial Board of the newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, read out a communique of the PDSh Managing Commission on these problems, stating among other things:

The PDSh calls on the governments of Western Europe and the United States to give urgent humanitarian aid and to help this country on its normal progress on the irreversible road of democracy. The PDSh also addresses this call to our emigre compatriots. Recognizing the maximal commitment of governments, organizations, and individuals, the PDSh promises that it will do its utmost to ensure that this help reaches needy Albanian families. Your reward from our side will be our devotion to the full establishment of democracy, which is the sole road of salvation, progress, cooperation, civilization. At the same time, the communique states, the PDSh begs the Italian Government, His Excellency Giulio Andreotti, and the civilized and generous people of Italy to appreciate objectively and tolerantly the nature of the motives behind the Albanian refugees' departure from their homeland, ensuring them treatment that will be as humane as possible. The Albanian people, who are themselves distinguished for hospitality, loyalty, and generosity, will be grateful to Italy for this. The PDSh is convinced that the day is not far when the Albanians will not only not need to undertake dangerous adventures in search of a better future, but will welcome their emigre brothers at the rekindled hearth of Albania.

The PDSh calls on all citizens to advance calmly and courageously toward democracy. The PDSh urges the Presidential Council and the government to continue to commit themselves to peace and calm in the country.

Those present at this news conference asked various questions in connection with the electoral campaign, which were answered by Prec Zogaj and PDSh Spokesman Genc Pollo. The latter also described his recent visit to Austria and Germany.

PDSh's Hajdari, Ceka, Zogaj Speak in Patos

AU1103152091 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—The branch of the Democratic Party [PDSh] of Patos organised on March 10 at the Palace of Culture of this city a meeting to analyse the program and the objectives of this party for the electoral campaign and the current situation in Albania.

The member of the Steering Commission of the Democratic Party, Azem Hajdari, after saying that the Democratic Party has created its branches all over the country, spoke on some of the objectives of its program. "We," he said, adhere to the principle that we see to the March 31 elections with patience, tolerance, and understanding, and that the electors vote for that political force they wish. Dwelling on the latest events he said that emigration should be carried out in an organised way by the state.

Dwelling on the need to make known and propagate the program of this party, Neritan Ceka, member of the Steering Commission of the DP, said that it is against violence, the burning of books, imposition of thoughts, slogans and acts that sow discord among the people. Likewise, he dwelt on the more active role the oil sector intelligentsia should play in the process of democratization also in this sector of the economy and invited it, in the context of cooperation with other countries, to air views on the oil perspective, so that any investment be profitable.

The member of the Steering Commission of this party, Prec Zogaj, spoke about the results a delegation of the Democratic Party attained during the meetings with deputies of the European Parliament and representatives of some political parties of France and Belgium.

* Democratic Party May Not Run in Elections

91P20254A Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Mar 91 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Albania—A New Wave of Emigres; The Tension Persists Three Weeks Before the Elections"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Two representatives of the Democratic Party [PDSh], the first opposition party legally established in Albania last December, Eduard Selami and Edmond Trako, as well as the director of their newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, Prec Zogaj, were received last week at the Quai d'Orsay and the EEC headquarters in Brussels. In an interview given to LE MONDE on 1 March, before they returned home, they did not rule out the fact that the opposition might be reconsidering its participation in the 31 March elections.

For Selami, the secretary of the PDSh steering committee, these February days have created a new situation in Albania that complicates the job of the opposition less than a month before the elections. "After the statue was toppled," Selami said, "with three demonstrations on the same day in the three largest cities of the country, the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party [PPSh] knew the opposition was going to win the elections. Now the situation is very tense with the party in control in all spheres of society. Can the elections be free under these conditions? Considering all these obstacles, we cannot rule out the possibility that we might not participate in the 31 March vote."

Selami continues, emphasizing the cohesion of the forces of order (the police, the Army, and the Sigurimi): "President Ramiz Alia has total control of the situation. It is a mistake to say that he is bowing to the pressure of the conservatives; everything that is currently taking place in Albania is occurring on his orders."

Zogaj says that, after the February events, the director of Radiotelevision, Sefedin Cela, was forced to resign and was replaced by a member of the party Central Committee, Fatmir Kumbaro. He said: "The deputy director is the secretary of the PPSh in Tirana. Is this the way they have depoliticized television?" The representative of the opposition says that official propaganda on television has been intensified, particularly by means of a new organization, the "Association of Enver Hoxha Volunteers," headed by an officer, Hysni Milloshi. The organization, which has not been officially registered, "is dedicated to opposing all the PDSh's activities," says Dr. Edmond Trako with anxiety. Trako continues: "At the present time, with all the tension, it is dangerous to create such an organization, and it encourages civil war."

The representatives of the PDSh denied reports that the writer Ismail Kadare, who took refuge in France three months ago, will be their party's candidate in the 31 March elections. "In his statements, he gave us support; however, the PDSh is not in contact with him," they said.

PRSh Branch Formed in Korce; Rally Held

AU1103205491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] A meeting has been held in one of the halls of the House of Culture and People's Arts in Korce to form the Republican Party's [PRSh] branch in this district. Vangjush (?Disnica), chairman of this branch's Initiating Commission said, among other things, that the creation of this branch is a contribution to the efforts of our people to further democratize the country's life. On this basis, it is a matter of honor for every inhabitant to do what he can to promote the values and dignity of our nation. He also said that we will solve all the problems preoccupying our nation, relying on the traditions of our patriots, through free debate, and with wisdom, culture, confidence, and labor.

Other members of the Initiating Commission for this district's branch of the PRSh then spoke. Vangjush Gambeta, member of the PRSh's Initiating Commission,

greeted those present. Talking about the party's program, he focused on the PRSh's objectives in economic and foreign policy and in rural and social problems. He also spoke about the PRSh's aims during the campaign for the pluralist elections of 31 March. In conclusion, he replied to questions asked by those present at this meeting.

Islamic Community Issues Patriotic Appeal

AU0803210291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] The Albanian Islamic Community, in an appeal addressed to the entire people, stresses that in this difficult situation for the nation we must live and work according to all moral and legal principles, with love for and devotion to the homeland, as patriots with noble virtues, tolerating other people's opinions and philosophical and social convictions. All these things, the appeal concludes, will lead to the salvation of our country from a great disaster, and will pave the way for our country's prosperity according to the demands of the modern age.

Presidential Council Meets; Representatives Attend

AU1103150891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The Presidential Council met today under the direction of its chairman, Comrade Ramiz Alia. Representatives of the political parties and other social organizations were invited to attend.

Council of Ministers Chairman Fatos Nano reported to the meeting on the political and economic situation in the country, the program drafted by the new government on the basis of the tasks set by the Presidential Council, the distress created by the exodus of thousands of Albanian refugees to Italy, and the efforts made by the state to cope with the problems this exodus has created.

Central Electoral Commission Chairman Rexhep Mejdani then reported on the Commission's preparations and measures for the normal conduct of the elections and the invitations sent to foreign observers.

The Presidential Council discussed these issues in the appropriate way, concentrating on the efforts being made in the difficult conditions through which the economy is passing and on daily production tasks, including seasonal work in agriculture to guarantee future production. Agreement was reached among all those present (?in the course of this discussion).

Ministry Approves 'Independent Trade Unions'

AU1103150691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The justice minister has approved the creation of the social organization, the Independent Trade Unions of Albania [Bashkimi i Sindikatave te Pavarura te Shqiperise], on the basis of the decree [words indistinct]. Its draft program, statute, and other documents are in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the demands of the decree on the creation of political associations and organizations.

Oil Workers Trade Union Created in Patos

AU1003145791 Tirana ATA in English 1050 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 10 (ATA)—In the context of the general reformation of the TUA [Trade Unions of Albania], the national conference for the creation of the Oil Workers' Trade Union Federation in Albania was held at the Palace of Culture in Patos.

The report delivered underlined that the creation of the Oil Trade Union Federation will manifest the unity of the workers of this important branch of economy, which will serve to defend the workers' interests, to ever better meet their interests. It is a contemporary organisational system, which is in conformity with the standards of the most developed countries of Europe, which will include every Albanian citizen, worker or employee of this branch of economy, irrespective of the political, ideological or religious beliefs. It was also said that just as it was perfectly acted to elect the trade union councils of the enterprises in a democratic, free way, and without party influences so it should be done in the future to preserve the independence of the trade union organisation and strengthen the unity of the working class.

The conference elected in a democratic way the steering council of the federation, as well as its leaders.

Foreign Ministry's Caushi on Diplomatic Activities

AU1003145891 Tirana ATA in English 1256 GMT 10 Mar 91

["Toward Europe With Political Dynamism and Democratic Culture"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 10 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries a writing by Shpetim Caushi, head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which says among others:

Our country is responding with dynamism to international developments, giving priority to our contacts and presence in the European mosaic of actions.

Worth mentioning are our activities in the respect of CSCE, the European Council and EEC. A delegation of experts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacted in Brussels representatives of the EEC, where they extensively discussed on the possible cooperation in all fields especially in the economic ones. Contacts have been established also with representatives of the European

Council, at a time when this Council has invited representatives of our country in a series of activities, which have been attended by our country.

Senior state officials and of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs have visited of late and established contacts with their counterparts in Europe. Priority has been given to the Balkans and neighbouring countries. Characteristic of these contacts has been not only the intensification of contacts but also the high level of the delegation exchange. Worth mentioning is the visit of the Greek prime minister to our country, meanwhile the Turkish President Ozal and the Italian Prime Minister Andreotti have expressed their wish to visit Albania. Care is taken of the relations with the neutral and Nordic countries.

We are striving to finally solve the questions existing between U.S.A. and Great Britain. Respective documents have been concluded with the U.S.A. and now their signing is expected. We think that our embassy in Moscow will start its activity during this month, constituting a new step towards the materialization of the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union. We stand for the promotion of relations with the Germans. An invitation has been made by the government of the Free State of Bavaria of the Federal Republic of Germany for an Albanian economic delegation.

But at the same time, on the whole, every European country, especially the developed countries, wish and have voiced their opinions that the democratizing processes in Albania, which have ushered in a final stage, be forged ahead calmly and without excesses. The tranquil developments, with democratic culture and political maturity of the political subjects in these processes, are a guarantee for the promotion of economic cooperation with these developed European countries.

Text of the New Arable Land Law Published

AU1103060191 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 1 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Text of "Law on Ownership and Use of Agricultural Land," adopted by the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 22 February]

[Text] Chapter 1. General Provisions.

Article 1. This law establishes regulations for the ownership and use of agricultural land.

Article 2. Agricultural land in the sense of this law means land that is intended for agricultural production, and which:

1. is not situated within the building boundaries of inhabited areas;

2. does not form part of forest reserves;

3. is not occupied by buildings belonging to: industrial or other economic enterprises; sanatoriums, rest centers, or health institutions; religious communities or other social organizations, and does not form yards or storage areas attached to such buildings;

4. is not occupied by quarries or opencast mine workings, or by energy, irrigation, transportation, or other structures for public use, and does not form plots lying adjacent to such structures.

Article 3. (1) Agricultural land may be the property of the state, municipalities, citizens, and juridical persons.

(2) Political parties and organizations, movements, and coalitions formed for political purposes may not possess the right of ownership of agricultural land.

(3) Foreign states, foreign entities, and juridical persons with foreign participation may not possess the right of ownership of agricultural land.

(4) Foreign citizens and Bulgarian citizens permanently resident abroad may acquire agricultural land only through inheritance under the law. Within three years of receiving the inheritance, they are obliged to transfer it to persons as defined in paragraph 1 above.

(5) Foreign juridical persons, foreign citizens, and Bulgarian citizens permanently resident abroad may acquire the right to use agricultural land or other limited material rights over land according to the conditions and procedure defined in this law.

Article 4. (1) The owner is obliged to use the agricultural land only for its designated purpose.

(2) The owner freely chooses the method of using the agricultural land. When making use of the land, he is obliged not to harm the soil, and must observe sanitary, public health, fire, and ecological regulations.

(3) It is permitted to build on agricultural land buildings and structures connected with the use of the land, in accordance with the conditions and procedures set out in the Law on Territorial and Settlement Organization.

(4) The requisition of agricultural land for important state requirements is carried out in conformance with the Law on Ownership and the Law on Protection of Arable Land and Pastures, following a ruling of the National Land Council.

(5) Land owners and users are obliged to preserve the irrigation, electric power, and other installations and structures existing on their land, and not to hinder other owners and users from using the same installations and structures.

Article 5. In cases where agricultural land is not used for a period of three years in accordance with the requirements of Article 4, paragraph 1, the owner or user pays to the municipality a tax equal to the value of the average yield per unit of area for the relevant region or the relevant category of land.

Chapter 2. Citizens' Land.

Article 6. Every Bulgarian citizen resident in the country may possess agricultural land. One household may own no more than 300 decares, or up to 200 decares of land in regions of intensive cultivation defined by the National Land Council.

Article 7. When disposing of or dividing land properties in co-ownership, the real shares may not be less than the minimum sizes defined in the Law on Inheritance.

Article 8. Citizens who carry out agricultural activities may unite to form cooperatives or associations for the joint cultivation of their land. In such cases, they may also retain the ownership of their land within real boundaries.

Article 9. (1) When agricultural land is sold, the following persons hold purchasing rights in accordance with the conditions and procedure of Article 33 of the Law on Ownership, in the following order of priority:

1. spouses and relatives in direct line;

2. relatives in the lateral line up to the fourth degree removed;

3. the leaseholder and user of agricultural land put out to lease;

4. owners of neighboring plots of agricultural land;

5. the state and the municipalities.

Article 10. (1) The owners of agricultural land that was incorporated into labor cooperative farms and state agricultural farms have their ownership rights restored.

(2) The ownership rights to agricultural land nationalized under the repealed Article 12 of the Law on Citizens' Ownership are restored to the owners, after they have returned the monetary compensation they received. In cases where building rights or rights of use for the benefit of third parties have been established for the land in question, the state owes compensation to the former owner at prices determined by the Council of Ministers.

(3) The owners of agricultural land that has been illegally confiscated have their ownership rights restored.

(4) Land ownership is restored up to the extent defined under Article 8 of the Law on Labor Land Ownership of 9 April 1946.

(5) Owners whose lands were expropriated under Article 8, paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Law on Labor Land Ownership of 9 April 1946 and who have received no compensation under Article 14 and the following articles of the same law, upon application receive compensation in the form of money or land from the land fund.

(6) Persons who have ceded their land without compensation to a labor cooperative farm or to the state have their ownership rights restored upon application.

(7) The restoration of ownership of agricultural land is effected by granting ownership of land of equivalent value and quality in the territory of the relevant village or settlement, after completion of the land division for the purpose of forming larger plots.

(8) Foreign entities, citizens, and Bulgarian citizens permanently resident abroad whose land ownership rights are restored under the provisions of this article must transfer the ownership to the persons listed in Article 3, paragraph 1, within a three-year period.

Article 11. (1) The persons defined in Article 10 submit applications for restoration of their rights to agricultural land within one year of this law coming into force.

(2) Persons who for good reasons have omitted to apply for restoration of their ownership rights under paragraph 1, may apply to the National Land Council to have their rights restored within two years of the date on which this law comes into force. If their application is rejected or if the two-year period has expired, their rights may be implemented by bringing a legal action in the usual manner.

Article 12. (1) The application according to the preceding article is made to the relevant municipal land commission, and should contain a description of the property and evidence of ownership rights.

(2) In his application, the owner states whether he wishes to receive the land or its equivalent monetary value.

(3) The following serve as evidence of ownership rights: notarial acts, protocols of division of land, protocols of labor cooperative farms, land registers, applications and declarations of membership in labor agricultural farms, accounts books for payment of rent, and other written evidence.

Article 13. (1) The municipal land commission publicly displays at the town hall or at another suitable location the applications it has received, together with the information contained therein.

(2) Any interested person who considers that his rights are affected may submit an objection to the municipal land commission within three months of the promulgation of the facts contained in the applications.

(3) The interested parties are notified of the objection. Any dispute concerning ownership rights is settled by a court of law.

Article 14. (1) The municipal land commission pronounces its decision within six months of the date of receipt of the application.

(2) The commission's decision is communicated to the interested parties in the manner specified in the Code of Civil Legal Procedure.

(3) An appeal may be lodged against the decision at the regional court within six months of receiving the announcement of the decision. The appeal is submitted through the municipal land commission. The court decides the dispute in essence. The court's verdict may be appealed against according to the usual procedure.

(4) All evidence specified in the Code of Civil Legal Procedure is admissible in the proceedings at the regional court.

Article 15. (1) Within six months of this law coming into effect, the municipal people's council is to submit to the municipal land commission information on changes in the extent of the agricultural plots in the relevant territory.

(2) In cases where the municipal land commission has established that the agricultural land has been reduced in area, the area of the land subject to restoration is also reduced accordingly. The state pays the difference between the amount of land contributed and the amount restored, in a manner and at prices determined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 16. The municipal land commission maintains registers of the applications received under Article 11 and of the decisions put into effect under Article 14 of this law.

Article 17. (1) Within one year of this law coming into force, the municipal land commission is to organize the preparation of a land division plan for agricultural farms in the territory of the relevant inhabited area.

(2) The land division plan determines the land from which the plots subject to restoration will be formed.

(3) Possession of the land is taken up after collection of the harvest, unless the owner pays compensation.

Article 18. Owners may not execute sales to other persons or conclude preliminary agreements relating to agricultural land under Article 19, paragraph 1 of the Law on Debts and Contracts for a period of three years following restoration of their rights, except with the following persons:

1. with relatives in direct line;

2. between spouses;

3. with relatives in the lateral line up to the second degree;

4. with owners;

5. with the state and municipalities; and

6. when exchanging agricultural land.

Article 19. The agricultural land remaining following the restoration of ownership rights is incorporated in the municipal land fund.

Article 20. (1) Citizens with little or no land are provided with land from the state and municipal land funds by the municipal land commission, under conditions determined by the Council of Ministers.

(2) Citizens who have been granted land may not transfer it for a period of 10 years following its acquisition, except to the state or the municipality.

Article 21. (1) In making grants of land, priority is given according to the following order of precedence:

1. persons who are engaged in agricultural work in the given inhabited area;

2. persons permanently resident in the given inhabited area who have ceded land to the land fund in another inhabited area;

3. agricultural specialists, and young families who assume the obligation to engage in agricultural activity; and

4. persons whose land was expropriated for state or public requirements.

(2) In choosing between candidates with the same order of precedence, preference is given to those who possess no land or hold smaller amounts of land.

(3) The decision of the municipal land commission is communicated to the interested parties in the manner specified in the Code of Civil Legal Procedure, and appeals may be lodged according to the procedure of Article 14.

Article 22. Persons not included in the above last receive grants of land by a decision of the municipal land commission, on the basis of an auction conducted according to rules defined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 23. When grants of land are made, the right of ownership is acquired from the date when the decision of the municipal land commission comes into effect. The decision is recorded at the public notary's office.

Chapter 3. Land Owned by the State, Municipalities, Cooperatives, and Other Entities.

Article 24. (1) The state retains its ownership of the agricultural land covered by this law, with the exception of land subject to restoration of ownership.

(2) The rights of owners relating to agricultural land handed over to scientific, scientific-production, and educational institutions, seed-producing and pedigree stock-breeding farms, and hunting associations for the fulfillment of their scientific and scientific-production tasks are restored to the extent determined by the National Land Council, following a proposal made by the minister of agriculture and the food industry and coordinated with the relevant government departments.

(3) Ownership rights are not restored to agricultural land included in reservations defined under the procedure of the Law on Environmental Protection or in other protected nature reserves of national and international environmental importance, including land containing above or below ground archeological artifacts and cultural monuments which cannot be removed from the said land.

(4) The owners of land defined in paragraphs 2 and 3 above are compensated either by payment to them of a sum equivalent to the value of the land or by receiving a grant of land from the state or municipal land fund in the same or a neighboring territory or, with their consent, in some other territory.

Article 25. (1) Agricultural land that does not belong to citizens, entities, or the state, is municipal property.

(2) The municipalities have their ownership rights restored to lands seized from them without compensation and handed over to state agricultural farms, labor cooperative farms, agro-industrial complexes, and agricultural companies, or to state forestry enterprises, in cases where the land has been incorporated into the state forest fund.

Article 26. Municipal land commissions may grant citizens, free of charge, the right to use municipal land in poorly productive and depopulated regions defined by the Council of Ministers. With the permission of the National Land Council, municipal land commissions may grant land from the state land fund for use by citizens. Persons who have cultivated land for 10 years may acquire rights of ownership without payment, by a decision of the municipal land commission that is recorded at the public notary's office.

Article 27. (1) Members of cooperative farms hold shares in the property of the farm. The size of the shares is determined by the general meeting on the basis of the contribution made by each member to the acquisition of the property (labor, contributed land, basic means, inventories of tools and equipment for which no payments have been made, and share contributions).

(2) Members of cooperative farms have the right to receive their shares when they give up their membership.

(3) Persons who ended their membership before this law came into force and the successors to their rights are also entitled to a share.

(4) If the person entitled to a share has not contributed land or basic means, his labor participation is taken into account, provided that he has worked for more than five years.

Article 28. (1) Labor cooperative farms have their ownership rights restored to property (agricultural land, basic means, money, etc.) that was confiscated and handed over to other organizations.

(2) In cases where this property constitutes an inalienable part of existing funds, its restoration is effected in the form of share participation in the companies or owners of these funds.

(3) In the case where the property of a labor cooperative farm was handed over to a state agricultural farm, vehicle-tractor station, or other state organization, and subsequently became part of the property of companies, the share participation in the labor cooperative farm, or the share participation of successors to such rights as appropriate, is determined in accordance with the property handed over by the labor cooperative farm to a state agricultural farm or other state organization.

(4) The size and form of the share participation is determined by agreement between the successors to share rights in the labor cooperative farm and the companies or owners according to paragraph 2.

(5) The share participation, determined according to the above procedure, is allocated between the property of the successors of the rights to shares in the labor cooperative farm, cooperative agricultural farm, agricultural companies, etc., by agreement between them.

Article 29. (1) Ownership rights to agricultural lands seized from the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and other religious communities, cooperatives, and other organizations are restored upon application, unless this land has been used after its seizure for the legal erection of nonagricultural buildings. The restoration is effected to the extent provided in the Law on Labor Land Ownership of 9 April 1946.

(2) With the consent of the organizations defined in paragraph 1, the restoration of ownership rights may be effected in other regions of the country.

Article 30. The owner of agricultural land included in cooperatives is entitled to receive rent in amounts determined in the statute or agreement of establishment of the cooperative.

Chapter 4. Entities of Land Ownership.

Article 31. The entities of land ownership are the National Land Council and the municipal land commissions.

Article 32. (1) The National Land Council is a unit of the Council of Ministers. The membership of the council is determined by the Grand National Assembly upon a proposal made by the Council of Ministers.

(2) The National Land Council adopts a code of regulations for its organization and activity and for the organization and activities of the municipal land commissions.

(3) The National Land Council supervises the work of the municipal land commissions and carries out other functions specified in this law.

Article 33. (1) The municipal land commissions are formed under the municipal people's councils. Their membership is determined by the relevant municipal people's council.

(2) By decision of the municipal people's council, land commissions with the same powers may be formed in the townships. Their membership is determined by the municipal people's council.

Additional Clauses

1. The term "household" as used in this law refers to husband and wife, unmarried children, and the parents of one or both spouses who live together with them.

2. The phrase "incorporated into a labor cooperative farm" as used in this law also covers land excluded from the building boundaries of inhabited areas following the formation of a labor cooperative farm prior to the date on which the Law on Territorial and Settlement Organization came into force—1 June 1973.

Transitional and Concluding Clauses

3. (1) Disputes concerning the use of land from the state land fund between state organizations, state and other organizations, and between labor cooperative farms are resolved by the National Land Council. Appeals against the latter's decisions may be submitted to the Supreme Court.

(2) Disputes concerning the use of land from the municipal land fund between the organizations listed in paragraph 1 are decided by the municipal land commission. Appeals against the commission's decisions may be made to the district court.

(3) The land of labor cooperative farms that has been handed over to state and other organizations for agricultural activities, must be restored to the owners if application is made, unless the land has been built upon. If a dispute arises, the issue is decided by the National Land Council, against whose decisions appeals may be lodged at the Supreme Court.

4. (1) Citizens who on 17 August 1990 held the right to use agricultural land granted to them under acts of the Presidium of the National Assembly, State Council, or Council of Ministers retain their rights. They may acquire the ownership rights to this land by making payments to the municipal people's council at prices determined by the Council of Ministers. The prices are determined on the basis of whether the land in question was under cultivation or not at the time when it was distributed.

(2) The amounts paid for acquiring the ownership title under paragraph 1 are paid into a special fund of the municipal people's council that is used to pay compensation according to Article 15, paragraph 2 of this law.

(3) Citizens hold rights and obligations under the preceding paragraphs in cases when the land is incorporated into a weekend villa zone, but the procedure for establishing the zone has not been completed.

(4) Villa plots and land for meeting family food requirements that have been received by citizens are removed from the agricultural land due to be restored to them under this law, under conditions and according to a procedure determined by the National Land Council. The price of the removed plot of land is paid to the owner, and the land is included in the fund for providing land grants.

(5) In the event of the former owners presenting claims to the individual plots of land according to the preceding paragraphs, the said owners receive compensation from the relevant municipality at prices determined by the Council of Ministers or are offered land of equivalent value, if they so desire.

5. Leasing agreements are preserved if the leased land remains in the ownership or for the use of the lessor. In the opposite case, the leasing agreement is annulled by putting the owner back in possession, but not before the harvest has been collected.

6. Persons receiving land grants under the procedure of this law may not lease or hire out the land for a period of five years after receiving the grant.

7. Agricultural producers are relieved of tax on the receipts from their agricultural activity for a period of five years from the date when this law comes into force.

8. The proceedings carried out under this law at the land commissions and the courts are free of charge.

9. The money required for implementing the law is allocated from the state budget upon application by the Council of Ministers.

10. The implementation of this law is entrusted to the Council of Ministers, which is to issue a code of regulations for its application.

The law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 22 February 1991 and sealed with the Seal of State.

'Thousands' of Slovaks Demand State Sovereignty

LD1103231391 Prague CTK in English 2122 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 11 (CTK)—Thousands of Slovaks who met here this afternoon on the initiative of the oldest Slovak institution "Matica Slovenska" called for state sovereignty of Slovakia.

Chanting "Independent Slovakia", "Enough of Prague", "Enough of Havel" and "VPN [Public Against Violence]-Totalitarian", the demonstrators, supported also by statements by Slovaks living abroad, demanded the adoption of the so-called declaration on the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic by the supreme legislative body-the Slovak National Council.

Chairman of the Matica Slovenska Committee Jozef Markus said Slovakia needs a profound economic reform but to make it good and effective it must be carried out by Slovakia alone. He added that it would be a mistake to think that entering a Europe without frontiers means entering a Europe denying rights of nations.

Many of those addressing the Bratislava gathering said time is ripe for declaring the superiority of Slovakia's sovereignty to federal laws, which is the fundamental principle of the declaration of sovereignty.

They claimed that state and national sovereignty should be the pillars of Slovakia's future constitution.

At the conclusion, the participants adopted a memorandum calling on the Slovak National Council to adopt without delay the declaration of Slovak state sovereignty in the spirit of the natural right of nations to self-determination.

Matica Slovenska which called the gathering is the oldest cultural and social institution in Slovakia (founded 1863). It has about 170,000 members and five times as many sympathisers, representing all streams of Slovak intelligentsia ranging from radicals to nationalists.

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said in a statement sent to Bratislava from Rome today he rejects the escalation of hysteria and says that one part of the VPN Slovak Council which met on March 9, 1991, has been stepping up aggressiveness in its resolutions.

"I appeal to the citizens of Slovakia not to let themselves be manipulated and threatened by strong words on a coup, destabilization etc. I think it is an irresponsible dramatization (of affairs)," Meciar said in the statement.

Chairwoman of the Czech National Council Dagmar Buresova said on today's demonstration in Bratislava that its participants do not represent the true opinion of the Slovak people and that the future constitutional setup in Czechoslovakia can by no means be decided at a square.

Buresova stressed the duty to use constitutional instruments in deciding the future of Czechoslovakia. In this connection she voiced her support for the institutionalization of referendum.

Havel Spokesman Says Referendum Desirable

LD1103150791 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Presidential Press Spokesman Michal Zantovsky spoke at today's meeting with journalists about the current situation in Slovakia.

He pointed out that the ideas of national socialism are coming to light there and he emphasized that such a development is highly dangerous.

According to the press spokesman, there are no reasons that should lead to the proclamation of new elections to the representative bodies. As there are, however, voices demanding the declaration of Slovak sovereignty and a quite different political and economic orientation of our state, Prague Castle thinks that the will of the citizens of both republics should be expressed. This, however, should not be done through elections but through a referendum to determine if citizens of both national republics want to stay in the federation or if they want to separate from it.

The presidential press spokesman, however, pointed out that the main opponents of referendum in Slovakia are the Christian Democratic Movement and other radical groups that prefer to have Slovakia's sovereignty proclaimed in a nonconstitutional way—by unilateral proclamation. In this way, the citizens of Slovakia could not express their view on this matter in a lawful way.

Michal Zantovsky said that, due to the situation, Vaclav Havel is considering a trip to Slovakia.

Czech Presidium Issues Statement on Slovakia

LD1103203291 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Czech Government has published a statement today in connection with the current internal political situation in Slovakia. The statement says that this development has become a topic for the whole federation, because it questions directly or indirectly its further existence and threatens the disintegration of the entire state. The Czech Government realizes the advantages of the federative arrangement and will do nothing t intensify the current crisis of Czech-Slovak coexistence.

As of today, however, it is setting up an operative commission for variants of solutions to the state arrangement that will prepare actual measures, in extreme cases unavoidable by the Czech Republic.

VPN's Gal Seeking Slovakia Referendum

LD1203094591 Prague CTK in English 1604 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 11 (CTK)—The time is ripe for a referendum in Slovakia to show what the will of the Slovaks concerning their life in a unitary state with the Czechs and Moravians is.

Chairman of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Slovak Council Fedor Gal said at a VPN briefing here today that the disinformation campaign in this respect has gone beyond the tolerable level.

He pointed out that the task of the Slovak National Council (parliament) is to consider the political responsibility of people who had caused the present unstable situation in the strongest political force in Slovakia, i.e. last week's split of VPN following the creation of a new paltform "VPN-for Democratic Slovakia" which is constituted by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and four ministers.

According to Gal, it is the statement of the new platform that caused the split of VPN, casting doubt on the pace of the economic reform on one hand but feeling fully responsible for the fruition of the reform on the other hand.

As regards the post of the Slovak prime minister proposed by VPN in line with the results of the June 1990 parliamentary elections, Gal said that coalition talks will be necessary which will decide about further steps to be taken. VPN, Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and Democratic Party are members of the Slovak parliamentary coalition.

Gal said Vaclav Klaus (Civic Democratic Party of the Civic Forum), who evaluated the situation in the VPN as a natural differentiation process, was minimizing its importance. In contrast with the Civic Forum in which the split did not exceed the limits of the movement, the split in VPN goes beyond them as doubts were cast on VPN legitimate bodies, Gal said.

Slovak National Party Supports Slovak Statehood

LD1203095791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2105 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The Slovak National Party issued a statement noting that every nation has the inalienable right to form its own state according to its will.

We do not agree with a demagogic identification of the political regime of a given time with the generally valid idea of statehood. The political regime in Slovakia from 1939 to 1945 was a compromise between Slovaks' long-standing desire and the national war policy. Only enemies and those who do not wish Slovakia well persist to attack, blaming the sovereign Slovak statehood for mistakes, compromises, and faults of the Slovak regime of that period.

Slovak statehood is the idea to which we presently subscribe.

Rally Adopts Statement on Slovak Sovereignty

LD1103213291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1643 GMT 11 Mar 91

["Text" of memorandum adopted at the national Matica Slovenska (Slovak Heritage Foundation) rally in Bratislava on 11 March; read by Matica Slovenska representative Valach—live]

[Text] We participants in the national Matica Slovenska rally, being aware of the historic significance of this moment, express our support for the initiatives aimed at concluding the formation of the Slovak nation state.

We demand that the Slovak National Council [SNR], in the spirit of the natural right of nations to self-determination, adopt a declaration of the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic and proclaim it. [applause]

This is the democratic basis to enable the Slovak nation and the Slovak Republic to really join Europe, which is undergoing the process of integration, as its member with full rights, as its equal member.

We demand that the SNR and the government of the Slovak Republic begin preparing the constitution of the Slovak Republic as a constitution of a sovereign state that, on the basis of a state agreement, can independently...[applause and Valach repeats]...to begin to prepare the constitution of the Slovak Republic as a constitution of a sovereign state that, on the basis of a state agreement, can independently and freely conclude a union with other states. [applause]

Decisively, decisively, decisively, we condemn all the efforts and attempts to destabilize the social and political life in the Slovak Republic as well as the tendencies aimed at breaking our nation to pieces and suppressing and degrading the Slovak statehood on the basis of a union or something else. [applause]

We call on the Slovak nation as well as all the citizens of the Slovak Republic to unite in their effort to achieve the state sovereignty! [applause and shouting "Long Live Slovakia", "Independent Slovakia"]

[Participants in the rally approve the text by raising their hands]

Civic Movement Officials Fear Split in State

LD0803171591 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky told newsmen here today that in the eyes of the foreign public the disintegration of Czechoslovakia "would be tantamount to a failure of Central and Eastern Europe to embark upon the path towards democracy."

The initiator of the Civic Movement (the Liberal one of the two parts into which the Civic Forum split in February) added that this would also lead to the atomization of the economy in the Czech as well as in the Slovak Republics. Developments in the Slovak Public Against Violence movement (VPN) therefore are not an internal affair of Slovakia only. At stake is the preservation of a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, Rychetsky said.

He was referring to the split of VPN earlier this week following the withdrawal of a group around Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar which calls itself VPN-For Democratic Slovakia.

"We do not want to preserve a unitary state at any cost," he said, adding that its preservation is conditioned by Czechoslovakia's being a really respectable member of Europe.

The Civic Movement has decided to support Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's recent proposal for a bill on a referendum. If Slovak or Czech political representatives demand a split of Czechoslovakia then this should be decided by the people of the respective republic.

According to Rychetsky, a referendum could be used also in deciding about the prepared law on land which he described as crucial for Czechoslovakia.

The Civic Movement was today officially registered.

Rychetsky said the fundamental prerequisite for the preservation of a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks being Czechoslovakia's remaining subject to international law, the Civic Movement supports President Vaclav Havel's proposal for a new Czechoslovak constitution.

The proposal presented by Havel at a press conference on Tuesday provides for strengthening the constitutional powers of the president and changing the structure of the Federal Assembly, the supreme legislative body in Czechoslovakia.

Rychetsky said the Civic Movement rejects the proposal of the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia (KDH) that the Czech and Slovak Republics sign a state treaty as a basis for a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, because such a state exists already.

Speaking about relations with the Public Against Violence movement (VPN) in Slovakia, the government and parliamentary coalition partner of the Civic Forum of which the Civic Movement is a part, Rychetsky said the two groups into which VPN split this week must find a political consensus in order to prevent complete disintegration of state structures and early elections.

Speaking at the Civic Movement's press conference, another of its leading representatives Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak foreign minister, said the participation of a Czechoslovak antichemical unit on the coalition side in the Gulf war has promoted Czechoslovakia's position in the international community.

It is also due to this that Czechoslovakia has been ranked by Kuwait among the countries which can take part in its post-war reconstruction.

Czechoslovakia is also to take part in a prepared joint drive of the Western countries aimed at creating such structures in the Middle East that would prevent the outbreak of similar conflicts like the Gulf war.

The concept of overall settlement in the Middle East will be also discussed during his March 8-9 visit to Iran, Dienstbier said. He noted Czechoslovakia endorses the European Community's stand that substantial cuts in armament throughout the Middle East should be negotiated.

On his Iranian talks' agenda Dienstbier said it will include supplies of Iranian oil and natural gas to Czechoslovakia and the question of building oil pipelines, and possibly also gas pipelines.

MNI Issues Statement on Slovak Situation

LD1103091691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The political committee of the Independent Hungarian Initiative [MNI], which held a session in Dunajska Streda yesterday, pointed out in its statement that exteremely nationalistic forces want to celebrate the coming 52d anniversary of the declaration of the Slovak state with a grandiose series of demonstrations. Their clearly defined aim is the creation of a national state, and they want to achieve this with an unconstitutional method, excluding the freely elected legislature and the entire system of democratic institutions, rejecting basic democratic rules. The MNI political committee appeals to its members, electors, inhabitants of southern Slovakia and the whole of Slovakia to do their utmost to maintain the lawful state and democracy, preventing further gains by national and socialist forces.

Knazko Outlines Slovakia's International Role

AU1203104391 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 91 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko by Milan Rusko; place and date not given: "Regional Policy Is Not a Slovak Invention"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Could Slovakia become an entity on the international scene and, if so, to what extent? How should regional policy be perceived—does it damage or help Czechoslovak interests? These are issues being considered from various points of view at the moment.

[Rusko] You are Slovakia's minister for international relations. You have declared on several occasions that there is only one CSFR foreign policy. Within its framework, what kind of scope is there for implementing the Slovak Republic's interests?

[Knazko] One of the hallmarks of a federation is a common foreign policy. This means that the entities forming the federation guarantee its formulation and implementation; therefore, it must correspond to their interests, express their will, and safeguard their needs. Otherwise it would lose all meaning and come into conflict with the very nature of the federation. We are striving to create a realistic and true image of Slovakia in the world as well as to achieve active participation in the formulation and implementation of the

federation's foreign policy and the Slovak Republic's equal representation in the Czechoslovak diplomatic service. Conditions are being created for developing the Slovak Republic's direct international relations in the economic cooperation, commercial, cultural, educational, and health care spheres. Like all new things—the international element of Slovak policy is, without a doubt, new—it is not being asserted gently. The interesting thing is that it is being accepted as easily abroad as it is at home. [passage omitted]

[Rusko] Some people are of the opinion that Slovakia's activities in regional policy are detrimental to the interests of Czechoslovakia. In your opinion, where do such views come from?

[Knazko] They may merely come from a profound ignorance of the rudiments of international cooperation. The people who hold such views have not offered any concrete evidence about the so-called damaging effect of these contacts since they simply do not exist. On the contrary, I am convinced that by developing our regional cooperation, we are contributing to making Czechoslovak foreign policy and its aims more specific. The aim of our activity is the development of direct economic, commercial, cultural, and educational relations within the context of the republican governments' jurisdiction. It is nonsense—if not absolutely impossible—to separate the range of jurisdiction within domestic issues from foreign cooperation under the conditions of a market economy. These principles are implemented as a matter of course in democratically developed countries. [passage omitted]

[Rusko] The Pentagonal Group is one of the new entities on the European political scene. How can Slovakia contribute toward its activity?

[Knazko] Slovakia has become involved in its work in recent months, and Slovak departments are fulfilling the role of coordinating organizations in some of its activities. Specific forms of cooperation may be achieved in culture and tourism as well as in the development of certain industrial projects. The Pentagonal Group's aims in expanding, improving, and interlinking the road and expressway network—and transportation and communication in general—are also interesting. Slovakia, which borders Austria and Hungary directly, has certain specific interests that it wants to develop within the framework of this cooperation. The Ministry of International Relations will submit material concerning this very issue to the Slovak Republic Government. Therefore, I do not want to anticipate events before our aims have been approved in the Slovak Government.

[Rusko] New constitutions are being prepared. Has your department also submitted its comments on the draft?

[Knazko] The Ministry of International Relations will be responsible for two issues associated with the constitution. The first one is to make sure that it corresponds to the international norms for a democratic society. The second is to make sure that it establishes a corresponding framework for the development of the Slovak Republic's international relations. These can only be developed in a manner corresponding to Slovak citizens' most natural hopes and intrinsic rights when they are declared in a fundamental constitutional law.

[Rusko] How do you view the future of Slovakia's international relations?

[Knazko] International relations and foreign policy are not isolated concepts. They are a reflection of the domestic situation. The way in which we express our domestic arrangement, and the way we arrive at this arrangement will determine the future for the international element of the Slovak Republic's policy. The current opportunities for freely and democratically—without external influences—arranging our fundamental relations is exceptional in itself. We do not want to abuse these opportunities, but we must also not waste them. I believe we will prove rationally that we are mature and capable of making responsible decisions about our future and about our place in the family of European nations.

Spokesman on Coordination of Foreign Policy

LD1203070491 Prague CTK in English 1709 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague march 11 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar did not coordinate his current visit to Italy and the prepared visit to the USSR with the Federal Ministry, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky told CTK today.

Speaking at a press conference he said: "We only hope the visits will be successful and will contribute to the success of the Czechoslovak economy and future coordination".

Lansky said that for reasons of "fair play" he does not want to assess cooperation between the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry and the Slovak External Relations Ministry in the absence of Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko.

The spokesman was apparently reacting to yesterday's statement by Slovak Prime Minister Meciar in which he said no one cast doubt on the Czech prime minister's recent visit to the Soviet Union, while the visit by a Slovak delegation to Italy and the Soviet Union is being questioned without anybody showing interest in its program.

Meciar Rejects 'Hysteria' Over New VPN Program

LD1203051391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Pope John Paul II received the government delegation of the Slovak Republic, headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, this afternoon. We discussed what we are going to do in Slovakia, and he voiced his positive view on all these things. He also said that this could serve as an example for solving problems in all of Europe, said the Slovak prime minister after the audience.

Today's agenda for the visit to Italy by the Slovak Government delegation started in the Mediocredito Centrale building, the government finance and credit institution. Another partner has thus promised to grant Slovakia better terms of credit, with lower interest rates, and with the repayment time extended to 10 to 15 years.

Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky said at a news conference in Prague that the Slovak prime minister did not coordinate his current visit to Italy, nor the coming one to the Soviet Union, with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At this very moment we have received a standpoint dispatched from Rome by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. In it he rejects the spiraling hysteria around a simple matter—that someone who had done something for Public Against Violence [VPN], and to whom further orientation of this movement matters, spoke openly and called things by their correct names. Censorship of the prime minister is an action that would prompt, in any other place, the departure of the politician responsible for it. This event marked the culmination of intra-party intrigues aimed against my person, and against the nationally-oriented stream in the VPN, said Vladimir Meciar. Someone has decided that I have already done my work, and that it is necessary to get rid of me. The next wave of attacks is to start probably during my absence. Although it was to be expected, I and Minister for Foreign Relations Milan Knazko decided that the work for the citizens of Slovakia takes precedence over political squabbles. Vladimir Meciar called on all citizens of Slovakia not to let themselves be manipulated. He stressed that the Slovak government and the deputies' corps must first and foremost carry out the tasks entrusted to them by citizens after the elections. This is a matter of prime importance to us, even at this very moment.

[Prague Federal Television Network in Czech at 1830 GMT on 11 March, in a similar report, adds: "Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister, has sent a standpoint from Rome today which says, inter alia: I am calling on the citizens of Slovakia not to let themselves be manipulated and intimidated by powerful words like putsch, destabilization, and so on. I think that this is an irresponsible dramatization. Our platform in VPN is only just coming into being. It has no funds, fax machines, premises, or data bases, which the VPN Coordination Center has at its disposal. Its supporters are a group of enthusiasts who are formulating matters at issue. Let us leave the VPN to resolve its internal problems, for it should not be a reason for spreading panic in the population."]

Member Describes New Slovak Council Deputy Club

AU1203091991 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 91 p 2

[Report on interview with Deputy Roman Hofbauer, member of the Public Agains Violence for Democratic Slovakia platform, by a "vy"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "A New Slovak National Council Deputy Club"]

[Text] In the legislative report, we published a report that after the conclusion of the first day of the Slovak National Council session, the deputies advocating the new Public Against Violence [VPN] for Democratic Slovakia platform met. We asked one of them, Deputy Roman Hofbauer, about the outcome of the meeting. He said:

[Hofbauer] Eleven of us formed a new deputies club, the VPN for Democratic Slovakia platform (five other deputies belong to the VPN-Hungarian Independent Initiative). Hence, 32 Slovak National Council deputies remained in the original VPN club.

[PRAVDA] Specifically, who belongs to the new club?

[Hofbauer] Two members of the Slovak National Council Presidium, Milan Secansky and Radomir Zingor, and the other deputies, Alfonz Zoricak, Miroslav Micek, Jozef Sokol, Jan Findra, Peter Durisin, Pavol Homola, Bohumil Kacmar, Augustin M. Huska, and I, myself, Roman Hofbauer.

[PRAVDA] Who became president?

[Hofbauer] Milan Secansky, chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the Slovak National Council.

[PRAVDA] What did you discuss at the constituent meeting?

[Hofbauer] We were clarifying our relationship with the other deputies' clubs, including the VPN movement, of which we feel a part; there is a certain integrity there. We do not identify with one another in everything. I would call us two branches of the same tree.

Meciar Outlines VPN Conflict Background

AU1203091891 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Vladimir Popelka and Igor Pokojny in Bratislava on 6 March: "It Is Probably a Mistake That I Was Ever Born"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Bratislava—Before the start of yesterday's Slovak National Council [SNR] plenary session, CTK reporters Vladimir Popelka and Igor Pokojny interviewed Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister and a representative of the newly established Public Against Violence [VPN] movement platform "For a Democratic Slovakia."

[PRAVDA] Prime Minister, what are the platform's starting points?

[Meciar] It unequivocally adheres to the VPN movement's original principles. When we were planning the platform, we also talked about returning to the November principles and ideas and to a democratic Slovakia. We expect that this platform—which will be

constituted in the very near future—will win over supporters. Entire districts and clubs already support it. Obviously, two entities will now exist within the framework of the VPN movement. Their alliance is dependent on the extent to which the VPN Coordinating Center is capable of ridding itself of undemocratic methods of work. If it continues in its pursuit of power, it is possible that the nature of cooperation could be different. Deputies from the SNR and the Federal Assembly have associated themselves with the new platform. It was established in an enthusiastic and disorganized manner. This was a normal reaction to the course of Monday's [4 March] VPN Slovak Council session.

[PRAVDA] Do you stand by the VPN movement's original program "A Chance for Slovakia"?

[Meciar] Of course, some people are impeding its national aspects; we, on the other hand, are not.

[PRAVDA] How has the VPN Coordinating Center digressed from this program?

[Meciar] First and foremost, it has digressed from national principles and also from the aforementioned moral point of view. In the economic sphere, we said we would implement reform nationwide and, at the same time, respect Slovakia's individuality. This is not being done. For example, it is said apropos regulating the market that the market will resolve everything; therefore, the government should not have to make any decisions. The issue is not about using strongarm tactics in management. The government has to know what is going on and has to have a program. These endeavors were suppressed on the part of the VPN Coordinating Center. We did not even concur in our views about property matters. I said that if I come out against the proposed extent of restitution, this could be my "swan song." This claim has turned out to be justified. This is one of the grounds that led to fundamental dissatisfaction with me. However, if I had agreed to the course of action determined for restitution, we would have reduced many people to poverty.

[PRAVDA] Do you feel that the "anti-Meciar" policy coming from the Czech lands plays a specific role here?

[Meciar] I would say so. It is not only directed at me. It is very specific. Not everyone in the Czech lands is inclined toward it. You know, for a long time now I have been covered by Czech periodicals, and I arouse almost negative interest. It seems the fundamental mistake is that I was ever born. It must be said that if Mr. Gal and others did not have the blessing of certain functionaries in Prague, they would never have indulged in such an attack against me. They thought that everything had been taken care of everywhere and that they could make an intensive attack. In my opinion, this is the background to current events. I just do not understand why some VPN members are reproaching the Slovak Republic Government for protecting Slovakia's interests. Is this normal? After all, there are federal and national entities and everyone looks after his own. Does anyone reproach the Czech Republic Government for defending Czech interests?

[PRAVDA] How did Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek react to the platform's establishment? Has he joined it?

[Meciar] Mr. Dubcek sent a letter yesterday at around 1600. It was received at the VPN Coordinating Center and concealed from delegates. The contents of the letter were clear, and some heads cooled after studying it. Mr. Flamik had it on the table and claimed that he did not know who had given it to him. Apparently, he did not know anything about it. If he had read it out to everyone, the meeting would have turned out differently. If we look at the articles being published about the current situation—for example, those by Mr. Ivan Hoffmann [LIDOVE NOVINY Slovak correspondent], who is very close to Mr. Gal—they adopt a so-called politically rosy line. Mrs. Szomolaniyova [a VEREJNOST correspondent] has cast aspersions against Obroda, of which Mr. Dubcek is a member. She is a VPN collective member. In essence, their intentions are broader and cross the political line toward absolute right-wing radicalism. They have abandoned the centrist platform and want to settle scores with all political orientations at once. However, what everyone swallows depends on the size of his mouth; otherwise, he would choke. Doubts have been cast on Mr. Zeman, director of Slovak Television. I have known him for only a short time, but I know that he does not lie. He lent himself to this [promising to give Gal the videotapes of Meciar's proposed 3 March address] perhaps to attain success and to reach the top; however, he was speaking the truth when he said for whom he had done this. What Mr. Gal is doing today is unethical. For goodness sake, this sort of thing should not be exaggerated.

[PRAVDA] Do you think the VPN Slovak Council does not represent the movement as a whole?

[Meciar] It was legally elected by the assembly. How it was prepared is a different matter. The people will find out gradually; I will not get myself involved in this. I cannot say that the Coordinating Center represents the movement, because it has a district-center structure; we do not have a movement. This is one of the problems we were unable to agree on. Does the Coordinating Center know what is going on in the towns and in the countryside? We are pretending to be a movement. Things should not be done this way.

[PRAVDA] Do you have any idea what the economic, financial, and representational arrangement will be like in a legislature containing two VPN streams?

[Meciar] Just wait a little bit; we still do not properly exist. We have agreed that we will try to prepare all the fundamental materials within 14 days and that a republican assembly will be held within a month.

[PRAVDA] How many districts currently support you?

[Meciar] During the night from Monday to Tuesday [4 and 5 March] alone, 16 districts joined us. Ministers A.M. Huska, R. Filkus, and M. Knazko, among others, were present at our talks.

[PRAVDA] Will you remain prime minister?

[Meciar] Of course. I will not submit my resignation under any circumstances; however, I can be recalled. On Sunday [10 March] we are going to Italy, where the Pope is supposed to receive us, so I do not know what will happen. Will we cause a scandal there? If I am recalled after my return, I will continue to live and work normally.

[PRAVDA] What do you think of Mr. Gal's statement that it is mostly the uninformed public that supports you?

[Meciar] The apparent information reproduced by Mr. Gal is, in essence, misinformation. For example: Yesterday I received a note from a school saying they wanted to issue a resolution in my support. They were told to be careful about Meciar because he is a wicked man who wants to break up the CSFR and wants to reduce everyone to poverty. If this is the level of information they work on, I am glad that only that part of the public that supports Mr. Gal is informed.

[PRAVDA] How do you explain the position of Mr. Kucerak, a man who supported you in the dispute about the interior minister?

[Meciar] I explain it as follows: He himself is in a difficult situation. He is responsible for reform and so I ask him what kind of policies he has. However, as deputy prime minister he has nothing to say to me. I told him to sit down with other economists. However, he does not want to sit down with Christian Democratic Movement members, with representatives from among Slovakia's independent economists, or even with those who lectured in Marxism at the school where he also taught. To date, he has simply not given me a specific answer. He is good at theoretical constructions; however, he is not good at practical applications. He does not like them.

VPN Chairman Comments on Split in Movement

AU1203083291 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 7 Mar 91 p 5

[CTK report: "Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence Movement: The World Is Not Linear"]

[Text] Bratislava— After the end of the Tuesday [5 March] meeting of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], Fedor Gal, its chairman, met with a group of journalists, including VEREJNOST reporter, A. Javorsky, to share with them his immediate impressions from the Council's meeting and ponder the VPN's present situation and prospects.

The breaking away of an independent group within the VPN was a natural thing, in his opinion. "We simply stopped belonging together, and I have no reason to dramatize this step. There is a difference between having a neighbor with whom you are on good terms and having someone move into your own apartment. Well, from now on we shall be good neighbors and will no longer share one apartment." In spite of this, Fedor Gal did not pretend that the fast pace of the development had not taken him by surprise: "It is only now that I realize that the departure of a group of members of the VPN Slovak Council had been prepared in advance and coordinated with what we heard on television [reference to Milan Knazko's 3 March speech on Slovak Television]. In this connection, he mentioned [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar's recent interview for [the weekly] NOVY SLOVAK, to which he did not attribute any real significance at that time, even though Meciar had hinted there at the evolution of a new civic movement out of the VPN. Even prior to this interview, an article had appeared in the same periodical that spoke about preparations for the founding of a new national platform with important representatives of the Slovak political scene.

Fedor Gal tried to characterize the essence of the conflict between two principles within the VPN, personified in the Gal versus Meciar conflict: "I am a team player, and I am lost without the collective. Prime Minister Meciar does not need a team around him, but executors." He noted with astonishment and admiration that Vladimir Meciar differs from the other politicians whom he has recently met in one special feature—the ability to think in a quick, linear way. "Only, the world is not linear," he added.

The VPN Slovak Council chairman rejected drawing a parallel between the Civic Forum and VPN splits: "The Civic Forum split over different political concepts—one represented by the liberal center and one by the right. The VPN has split over different interpretations of the national dimension of the movement's program. It is possible, however, that I am wrong and that the split has occurred on the basis of gravitation toward personality. I will be wiser once the new grouping presents its political platform."

In the last couple of days, the public has been preoccupied with the question of who is right—Vladimir Meciar or Fedor Gal. The VPN Slovak Council chairman replied that they both probably have their own truth and added the philosopher's words that there does not exist a single truth but only the communality [obcovanie] of various truths. "I believe that various truths now commune [obcuju] with each other," he added. He expressed the conviction that, inside, the Slovak prime minister is at one with his truth. He would otherwise have been unable, according to Fedor Gal, to follow his line with such concentration, vigor, and drive.

"I do not see a single reason for recognizing the legitimacy of the faction that has broken away because, by doing so, I would cast doubt on the legitimacy of what has been going on here until 0230 today, on the legitimacy of the VPN Slovak Council, and on the legitimacy of the recent VPN assembly. They have not yet said who they are, they have just walked out," said Fedor Gal.

Miklosko on Significance of VPN Split

AU1203075891 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 7 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by a "(dag)"-signed reporter in Bratislava on 5 March: "Now We Know Who Is Where!"—first paragraph is VEREJNOST introduction]

[Text] Only partial reports about the establishment of a "second" platform—which had abandoned the assembly hall halfway through the meeting—reached the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council while it was in session. However, three quarters of its members continued their talks and elected a Presidium.... When I had the opportunity, I asked Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko for his opinion on this group's separation:

[Miklosko] At the moment, two different feelings predominate within me: A feeling of relief that the tension that has been accumulating for a number of weeks has now subsided; it is clear that "it" has broken away. Now we all know where we belong and where we stand. However, the other feeling is different: At a time when Slovakia should be united—when the main issue should be the first constitution in its history—the old legend about Svatopluk's [the ruler of the Great Moravian Empire in the ninth century who attempted on his deathbed to teach his son that there is strength in unity] rods has again been given some meaning. This movement has divided for petty reasons, and none of us yet knows how to evaluate the consequences.

[VEREJNOST] I am afraid that a group of nationalistically oriented—or even extremist—movements will be given some scope by this part of the movement's separation.

[Miklosko] I think that time is the best criterion and the best measure. Those movements that are based on cheap demagogy or slogans come to the forefront quickly and then fall just as quickly. Others will evaluate these issues. Therefore, I am calling for endurance as we will really be appraised only for those acts we have carried out. It will be necessary to withstand a certain wave of assault, but I believe it will eventually be revealed who is doing what.

[VEREJNOST] In connection with current events, will further complications arise in dealing with the important political and economic issues facing us?

[Miklosko] We will have to ascertain what this division means in the deputies' clubs. The coalition that has existed until now has actually been splintered even more. This means that there will be a different arrangement in the government, and it looks as if this will also happen in the legislature. Despite this, I think the tasks that society will face will be so important that the situation will not permit us to experiment, because we bear joint responsibility for Slovakia's future.

Miklosko Discusses Current Political Situation

AU1203020391 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Ivo Slavik; place and date not given: "I Feel Relieved"]

[Text] [Slavik] Will the Public Against Violence [VPN] Council recall Prime Minister Meciar and Minister Knazko? If the answer is yes, what will happen regarding development in Slovak society?

[Miklosko] The formal act of recalling a minister is not so simple because only the Slovak National Council Presidium, where all the coalition parties are represented, can recall a minister. In this event, we could only recommend such a course of action to the deputies. Of course, the part of the VPN that suggests recalling the ministers would immediately be accused of Czechoslovakism. The platform that has now been established within the VPN would—in turn—become the progenitor of some kind of national program. In any case, the first wave of support would surge to its side. This is the way the population would react—I am now making a hypothetical consideration—to a VPN recommendation to recall Minister Knazko. Nothing has been said about the prime minister. That was only a suggestion by Chairman Gal. I think development will be more complicated. Populist waves reach a sudden peak and decline just as suddenly. From the point of view of economic reform, its social impact—regarding the drafting of the new constitution—will be incredibly complicated in Slovakia this year. We will experience a very stormy period in March. We expect numerous demonstrations. For example, the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] is organizing a demonstration in support of greater sovereignty for Slovakia, and on 14 and 15 March there will be demonstrations commemorating the Slovak State. However, everyday life carries on after all this. Who is doing what will become apparent. Therefore, it is necessary to bear the brunt of this in March.

[Slavik] The departure of Vladimir Meciar, Milan Knazko, and others from the VPN Council meeting, however, has created a complicated situation without expressing a lack of confidence in them. Of course, they will make it look as if they had been expelled from the VPN Council.

[Miklosko] They will—most likely—make some kind of statement. This will probably be done to make sure that they acquire a sufficiently strong position in society. The split is complete; there is no turning back. The issue now is the emergence of forces in the government and in the legislature.

[Slavik] What does this situation mean for the whole of Czechoslovakia?

[Miklosko] This is a very difficult question. I view this year with anxiety. Drafting the constitutions will cause huge problems in Slovakia's relationship with the federation.

There are demands to go as far as possible with autonomy. This, however, is not the only thing. The VPN has now split and it is necessary to say that it has ceased to be the leading force in the legislature. Therefore, the adoption of the Slovak constitution will be problematic. If general agreement is not reached among more political parties, the legislature will not adopt the constitution and, obviously, it will be necessary to call early legislative elections. However, this would mean a massive increase in support for the nationalist movement. All of this will have an impact on Czechoslovakia's stability.

[Slavik] An incentive for certain Moravian groups could also transpire here.

[Miklosko] I think that everyone will eventually take stock of the attempts to declare an independent state. Part of the population will support such a state, but I think this will be the smaller part. Whether this should assume a pan-Slovak form is the question I am asking at the moment; however, I think not. Of course, the pan-Czechoslovak situation could be very shaken by the Moravian movement, which is becoming more and more radical. What was chanted in Moravia—"We are not Czechs"—is an unfavorable slogan. I perceived something dangerous in this slogan.

[Slavik] What does the situation that has arisen require from the VPN's coalition partners in Czech politics and from its opponents? I am not sure whether everyone is aware of the seriousness of the issue.

[Miklosko] I think we should always reach a certain consensus. This means patience and not radicalism, which virtually never brings more lasting solutions to problems.

VPN Criticizes Platform for Democratic Slovakia

LD1103114491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence [VPN] emphasized in its declaration at its Saturday session that a group identified as the Platform for Democratic Slovakia behaves in a way that leads to a split in the movement. The public appearances of the members of the Platform shows that its aim is to hinder and jeopardize the economic reform, to give unjustified national character to economic and other problems, and to make social promises that cannot be fulfilled.

In its conclusions, the Slovak Council said that the Platform for Democratic Slovakia identifies itself with VPN, and at the same time casts doubts on the conclusions of the meeting in Topolcany and on the legitimacy of the democratically elected bodies.

Instead of a dialogue and an effort to attain an agreement within the framework of the movement, the Platform has used methods that violate democratic ways of dealing with controversy.

In conclusion, the Slovak Council points out that the new platform puts the national issue above all the others and in this way wins enthusiastic agreement of nationalistically oriented parties and groups.

VPN Deputies' Club Issues Statement on Conflict

AU1203105391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 9 March 91 pp 1, 2

[Statement issued by Public Against Violence movement Deputies' Clubs in Bratislava and Prague on 8 March]

[Text] Members of Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Deputies' Clubs in the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council, being aware of their responsibility for the economic and political situation in the CSFR, consider it necessary to express their point of view on the current political situation in Slovakia.

We regard the destabilization of society and the attempts to whip up tension on the political scene as a threat to Slovakia's internal security.

We consider the repeated attempts to place the will of the most senior executive bodies before the will of the legislatures to be a dangerous attack against democracy and the results of the first legislative elections.

We are convinced that one of the sources of destabilization and tension in society is the fact that some former State Security collaborators and people responsible for the crimes committed by the previous regime are still working in the most senior state administration bodies.

We regard manipulating information, political blackmail, and the creation of legal and political uncertainty as a manifestation of irresponsibility for the fate of Slovakia and the federation.

We consider the VPN movement's program "A Chance for Slovakia" and the plans for radical economic reform—which is an indelible element of the VPN's election program—to be the fundamental political platform for our deputies' clubs.

We agree with the conclusions reached at the Topolcany Assembly and with the new VPN Slovak Council elected on 5 March 1991.

Signed by Milan Sutovec; Michal Blaha; Ernest Valko; Oszkar Vilagi; Miloslav Roubal; Jan Hacaj; Michal Horsky; Marian Farkas; Jozef Baksay; Eva Sahligerova; Vladimir Savcinsky; Martin Kukucka; Stefan Bacinsky; Marian Calfa; Karol Gemesi; Stefan Glezgo; Sonja Hlavkova; Peter Kulan; Peter Rasev; Eleonora Sandorova; Frantisek Sebej; Kornel Smrzik; Karol Honner; Peter Tatar; Ivan Dianiska: Vladimir Kotrus; Karol Szokol; Pavol Kostal; Peter Markotan; Rastislav Diovcos; Vladimir Cecetka; Zuzana Mistrikova; Marcel Stryko; Vladimir Sladek; and Jan Chmelo.

In Bratislava and Prague on 8 March 1991.

Prime Minister Calfa Comments on Split in VPN

AU1203020891 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 7 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with Marian Calfa, CSFR prime minister and Presidium member of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement, by A. Javorsky in Bratislava; date not given: "The Good Impression Lasted Only One Week"]

[Text] One of the participants in the meeting [held in Bratislava on 5 and 6 March] of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] was CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa. Asked to comment on what had just happened and about ways out of the present situation, he told our reporter:

[Calfa] I would like to say that the whole situation bothers me very much. I participated in the VPN republican assembly at Topolcany and was informed in great detail about what was going on. I had the feeling that the VPN emerged from its legitimate assembly cemented and stronger. After all, the Topolcany assembly democratically accepted the will of the majority. I had the good feeling that we have a movement in Slovakia that does not copy the development of the Civic Forum in Bohemia. Today I have the feeling that the Civic Forum does not even exist. There are only the party of Klaus and the Liberal Club. This good impression lasted only one week, however. As for Mr. Knazko's speech, to which I reacted very sharply, we must realize that it has two planes. The first was his comment on the VPN's desire to know what the [Slovak] prime minister would say in his television speech. The second was his more general assessment of some sort of dependence of the VPN Coordinating Center's leadership on some kind of "federal forces." Part of this is also his assessment of the law on division of powers, which Mr. Knazko described as an empty affair. He simply cast doubt on everything. Moreover, he grafted the national element—Slovakia's relationship toward the federation—onto all the other things. Here Mr. Knazko was treading on thin ice. I cannot identify with what he said, and the VPN Club of Deputies and, apparently, also the VPN leadership, are unable to identify with him either, because the program of the VPN movement reckons with the federation, with the federation for Slovakia as well as for the Czech Republic.

KDH Does Not Prefer Any VPN Faction

AU1203085691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Mar 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "A Marriage Between Water and Fire"]

[Text] Maybe it was not accidental that Alexander Dubcek's message to the participants of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council extraordinary meeting was read out six hours after the movement's supreme body began debating the Slovak prime minister's fate. In the opinion of the chairman of the Federal Assembly, "Vladimir Meciar has acquired the confidence of the people," and this is why recalling him from his function cannot be a solution to the situation. Cautious Dubcek wanted to prevent a VPN split—as Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko put it—"just at the moment when Slovakia should be united."

For this reason, it is no surprise that Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Chairman Jan Carnogusrky is unwilling to use the current state of dissolution within the VPN to his advantage, or to misuse it to the detriment of the prime minister's position. Politically, it is not insignificant that Prime Minister Meciar has significant support among the VPN electoral base. In view of this fact, the KDH will hardly consider only one of the factions as its partner; it will rather recognize the equal position of both factions in the government coalition, because by doing so it will acquire, as a matter of course, a dominant influence in it. That is, can we interpret the signals coming from the KDH camp urging Meciar's resignation as a hasty gesture—or as an unpremeditated maneuver?

Overnight the government coalition grew by one member—the "dissidents" of the VPN movement who proclaimed the platform "For a Democratic Slovakia" to be their platform. About one third of the VPN Federal Assembly deputies have supported this wing so far. In the Slovak National Council, clear support for the national faction has not yet become apparent but—even so—the deputies inclined toward the VPN anti-Meciar wing have not had the courage to initiate an open attack against the prime minister. Instead of risking a confrontation, they are apparently waiting until the opponent's situation becomes clearer.

A more useful outcome for Slovakia—and for both VPN factions as well—would be to first of all stop the catastrophic scenario that is under way and to avoid the escalation of grudges. It is necessary to become reconciled with the fact that the VPN republican council in Topolcany was an unsuccessful attempt at a "marriage between water and fire", yet this should not be a reason for rejecting Dubcek's proposal for "uniting through division". Amidst the key points of the program approved by the VPN Slovak Council at last night's session, there is not a single one that would impede a productive dialogue on the "For a Democratic Slovakia" theme. All politicians engaged in Slovak politics should suppress their personal aversion in their behavior, otherwise the nation will qualify behavior motivated in that manner as high treason!

Press Commentaries View VPN Split

AU1203000591

[Editorial Report] Several Czech and Slovak newspapers of 8 and 9 March publish commentaries on the founding on 6 March of a new platform of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, the "VPN—For a Democratic Slovakia," and the implications of the VPN split for the political situation in Slovakia. Of the commentaries available thus far, the following are worth noting:

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 8 March on page 3 carries a 500-word Peter Malar commentary entitled, "Who Is Left, Who Is Right," that analyzes the main differences between the two VPN factions. Malar says: "Wherein do the newly born VPN platforms differ? They are not exactly twins, but they are two children of the same parents. The most frequently cited difference is in the perception of national interests, which are accentuated by Meciar's Platform for a Democratic Slovakia (it remains to be seen to what degree these interests will be preferred in actual policy). This is not the only difference, however. When [Chairman of the VPN Council] Fedor Gal claims that the dispute [within VPN] itself and, above all, some acts by the followers of Meciar are detrimental to economic reform, when he reiterates that the dynamism of economic reform must not be disrupted, he indirectly accuses the political rival within the movement of damaging the reform. Although F. Gal never said that the reform must be carried out 'without scruples,' he has made it absolutely clear that negative concomitant signs (social upheavals, the collapse of Slovak industry, etc.) must not slow us down. A characteristic feature of Gal's rival, on the other hand, is the national element in the economy and a deeper social feeling. He wants to modify the reform, at least in Slovakia, to weaken the impact of the unpleasant concomitant signs.

"Political observers will have surely noticed yet another difference. Meciar's followers include the overwhelming majority of 1968-vintage politicians, whereas Gal is backed predominantly by intellectuals and theorists of the median and younger generations. This signals not so much a generation conflict as, rather, differences in political attitudes and in the level of pragmatism in the perception of specific policy.

"In other words, differences exist in at least three areas: the national (national economic), the social, and the political. He who wants to will easily figure out that, according to the conventional criteria, the Platform for a Democratic Slovakia drifts more to the left, whereas Fedor Gal himself spoke about the 'right bank of the center' after the Topolcany VPN assembly." According to Malar, "this demonstrates yet another evident difference between Prague and Bratislava—whereas in Prague the pragmatic wing is drifting further to the right, in Slovakia it is the other way around."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech carries a 700-word Martin Komarek commentary entitled "Slovakia In Crisis." Komarek sees "dispute about the economic reform" as one of the main causes of the present differentiation within the VPN. He says: "Both hostile VPN factions claim to endorse economic reform. Prime Minister Meciar, however, puts emphasis on Slovakia's specific situation, which is a term under which it is possible to cover anything up to halting the reform. Were Slovakia's economic development to depart markedly from the economic development in the Czech lands, the reasons for preserving a common state would undoubtedly lose strength. Vladimir Meciar has no clear concept of economic changes. In order to defend his own personal position, he would have to come ever closer to a socialist concept. It is obviously this realization that led Alexander Dubcek to lend Meciar his support." Komarek is convinced that Meciar's "well-intentioned and, at this time of economic crisis, popular quest for a social state will in a very short time run up against the harsh economic reality."

Commenting on the impact of the VPN split on the Slovak political scene, Komarek says: "The VPN's dominance within the Slovak Government coalition, especially over the strong Christian Democratic Movement, is very fragile. Were the two VPN currents to cooperate, they might, paradoxically, reinforce their influence. Meciar would draw to his side supporters of socialism and a strong nationalist Slovakia, while Gal and Kucerak would continue relying mainly on influential intellectuals. Each of the two groups realizes that it would be lost without the other. This is why they do not want to slam the doors, in spite of all the strong words that have been said."

Komarek concludes his commentary by saying: "These strong words have, however, made Slovak politics very vulnerable in the near future, all the more so as the key problem of national and federal constitutions will now be discussed. Vladimir Meciar as a person has probably remained the crucial factor in Slovakia. This is sad because there must be something wrong with democracy where persons are important in politics, rather than views and programs. Meciar is, however, a man of surprises. Even pleasant surprises cannot be ruled out; namely, that he will come up with a firm view and program."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 9 March on page 3 carries a 600-word Jan Fuele commentary entitled "Meciar's Centripetal Powers." The commentary ponders the possible consequences of the founding of Vladimir Meciar's own platform within the VPN.

Fuele first dismisses the claims by representatives of Meciar's VPN platform that their aim is to return to the movement's original ideas. As he points out, the revolution of November 1989 is now history. Besides, the people who worked in the VPN in its early days were so diverse that "it is not clear where the new platform would return." Fuele believes, rather, that "a new, most probably liberal, party with a strong national program is beginning to take shape around Slovakia's strong prime minister."

He continues: "It is precisely this national program that might become a stumbling block, even though many people may not realize this yet. If Vladimir Meciar starts to accentuate the national program strongly, two things might happen. Some extreme currents will join the platform, which might discredit it in the eyes of the world and the Czechoslovak public. Or, if the prime minister then dissociates himself from these currents, he might cause a radicalization of the other national streams, which would be equally dangerous for Slovakia."

Fuele believes that the founding of Meciar's faction could trigger a "chain reaction" in the Slovak political

scene because there exist nationally oriented currents in all parties. He might, for example, attract some voters of the Slovak National Party, members of the "strong pro-Meciar wing in the Democratic Party," as well as the "Meciar-oriented opposition to Jan Carnogursky" within the Christian Democratic Movement. Meciar's "radical and outwardly easily comprehensible policy" might even attract supporters of parties that are not represented in the legislature, according to Fuele.

He concludes his commentary by saying: "Very strong centripetal forces have started to operate in Slovakia with respect to Vladimir Meciar. It is possible that, after a while, a strong party based on the popularity of one politician will take shape here. This would have one great advantage—the party would take off like a rocket. But, in the event of failure of the government program and the prime minister, it would also have one great disadvantage."

Democratic Alliance Warns of 'Active' Communists

LD1103233191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The Civic Democratic Alliance, the Club of Committed Nonparty Members of Slovakia, and the Movement for Czech/Slovak Accord have pointed out in their statement the serious dangers to the existence of the joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities. They pointed out that former communists are becoming active and are trying, under the pretext of national orientation, to break up Czechoslovakia and take power. They emphasized that in the economy these people follow the social demagogic line, which is aimed at thwarting the radical reform oriented toward Europe.

These bodies appeal to the Slovak National Council to call for a speedy screening of all constitutional officials and to carry out all necessary measures, including those of a personnel nature.

Poll: 78 Percent Express Confidence in Havel

LD1203000491 Prague CTK in English 1425 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—As many as 78 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens had confidence in President Vaclav Havel in February, a 10 per cent drop since February 1990, according to an analysis worked out by the analytical department of the President's Office released here today. The analysis, made on the basis of data from various Czechoslovak institutions for public opinion research, shows that while in the Czech Republic confidence in the president decreased in the period surveyed by only 2 per cent to 90 per cent at present, the decline in Slovakia was 26 per cent, to 57 per cent.

Confidence in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) dropped in Czechoslovakia from 75 per cent in February 1990 to 60 per cent in February 1991. The same figures apply to the Czech Republic while in Slovakia confidence in the federal parliament dropped from 75 per cent one year ago to 50 per cent this year.

Confidence in the federal government ranged in the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Republics between 80 and 90 per cent in February 1990. In February 1991 it stood at 60 per cent in all Czechoslovakia, at more than 70 per cent in the Czech Republic and over 40 per cent in the Slovak Republic.

These figures show that the Czechoslovak president enjoys almost stable confidence in the Czech Republic, the larger of the two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia, while confidence in the federal government and parliament declined. This is true also of confidence in the Czech Government from around 80 per cent to 70 per cent. In Slovakia confidence in the president, the federal government as well as federal parliament went down. Only the Slovak Government retained an almost 80 per cent confidence.

Dienstbier Discussed Army Modernization in Iran

LD1103210191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, deputy federal prime minister and foreign minister, held talks in Iran on Saturday and Sunday with prominent politicians on a number of issues. What was the main issue concerning economic cooperation? Vladimir Vjercak, who accompanied the Czechoslovak delegation to Tehran, answers this question.

[Vjercak] In short, there were three topics connected with economic issues: the possibility of importing oil and natural gas from Iran to the CSFR; the participation of CSFR enterprises in the reconstruction of the Iranian economy, which was badly damaged by the long war with Iraq; and perhaps the most sensitive issue, the question of the participation of the CSFR in modernizing the Iranian Army. It was confirmed that the CSFR should receive 250,000 tonnes of oil in the first quarter, and if ways of payment for this are settled, the Iranians are willing to reserve 3 to 6 million tonnes of oil for the CSFR annually.

The issue of the gas pipeline is more complicated. It is likely that it would be a joint project in which the countries of the Pentagonal would participate financially. At the moment, a project study is being prepared and Jan Holcik, Slovak minister of industry, says that this will be paid for by the World Bank.

The CSFR is offering a whole range of products and investment units, above all those that have experience in building in the countries of the Middle East: oil refineries, steam and water power stations, cement works, and so on. Iran is extremely interested in power stations and orders to the value of tens of hundreds of millions of dollars are being considered.

An agreement has already been signed between the city of Tehran and Czechoslovak Skodaexport on the supply of a trolley bus line valued at 20 million dollars. A

similar contract for bus supply is being discussed. On this occasion, the Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati spoke very positively about the talks. He said:

[Begin Velayati recording in Persian with superimposed Czech translation] The CSFR delegation's talks were constructive and very successful. This is also confirmed by the way in which the Iranian politicians received Jiri Dienstbier. We see the agreement signed between Tehran and Skodaexport as a good beginning. This also helps to solve the complicated transport situation in our capital with its 10 million people.

The bilateral talks were very positive with regard to the CSFR. We believe that nothing stands in the way of broad cooperation between our countries. [end recording]

[Vjercak] We must add to this that Iran is specifically interested in military technology. Everything will depend here on the international atmosphere and the future development of the security situation in the region. We have been told at the Iranian Defense Ministry that they are interested in tanks that we are discarding following disarmament talks in Europe. The Iranians would use them mainly for training. They are also interested in buying the equipment from factories that are being converted from military to civilian production in the CSFR.

Talks between experts are continuing. Some experts in our delegation who come from relevant enterprises say that we should consider the economic importance of such cooperation carefully.

One last sentence: The journey was successful, but whether this is the beginning of a new stage of cooperation will only be shown by contracts concluded, Jiri Dienstbier said.

Danish Foreign Minister's Visit Continues

AU0803165891 Prague CTK in English 2215 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Danish counterpart Uffe Ellemann-Jensen signed here today an agreement on promotion and mutual protection of investments.

Ellemann-Jensen arrived here yesterday for a three-day official visit at the invitation of Dienstbier who welcomed today Danish support for Czechoslovakia's association with the European Community. According to Dienstbier, Denmark expects Czechoslovakia to become a full-fledged EC member by the end of the 1990's.

The Danish guest was also received today by Czechoslovak Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay, and Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

Baksay and Ellemann-Jensen noted their countries' trade developed positively last year, and expect further progress in the future especially since the Danish Government has removed quotas limiting Czechoslovak exports.

The two ministers noted 11 joint ventures have been established by Czechoslovak and Danish enterprises thus far, indicating one way of developing economic cooperation.

Vaclav Klaus told the Danish minister the most suitable and quickest form of Western assistance for Czechoslovakia now is increased purchases of its products, not credits. Czechoslovakia would appreciate it if Denmark's public sector placed bigger orders with its enterprises, Klaus added.

The visiting Danish foreign minister was received here tonight by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. Afterwards, the Danish minister hosted a dinner in honor of Havel and his wife.

Taking part were also representatives of the former opposition. Already during his visit to Czechoslovakia in spring 1989, Ellemann-Jensen met with Jiri Dienstbier (now foreign minister) and another eight Czechoslovak dissidents.

The communist regime was toppled in Czechoslovakia in November 1989.

Holds News Conference, Ends Visit

LD0703173191 Prague CTK in English 1349 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 7 (CTK)—Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen ended his visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for home today.

At a press conference held earlier today the minister expressed the hope that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel will visit Denmark this year.

Ellemann-Jensen said his country has been trying to help Czechoslovakia by investing capital in joint ventures. He also mentioned plans for cooperation in culture, education, management and environmental protection.

He said he had visited Czechoslovakia many times and stayed there in 1968 when he worked in Czechoslovakia as a journalist.

Denmark will establish full diplomatic relations with the three Baltic republics as soon as it is practically possible, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen told newsmen.

He recalled that Denmark recognized the three republics in 1921 and that this recognition is still valid.

So far Denmark tries to establish contacts and cooperate with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in all spheres, especially in culture, education and economy. Through the European Communities it also tries to make Moscow open talks with the Baltic governments, he added.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said his country, too, wants to hold extensive contacts at all levels with the three Baltic republics. According to him, Czechoslovakia will establish diplomatic relations with them as soon as it is feasible.

Joint Communique Signed With EC

LD1003230491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] A communique signed at the end of the first session of the joint committee of Czechoslovakia and European Communities notes that trade and economic cooperation between the two sides is proof of the development of bilateral contacts, which have been broadening continuously since official diplomatic relations were established in 1988. The present improvement in mutual trade and economic relations contributes to the successful talks on a European treaty.

At the first session of the joint committee, the two sides briefed each other on the economic situation in the European Community countries and the progress of economic reform in Czechoslovakia. Checks on the fulfilment of aid given by Western countries to Eastern Europe were also on the agenda.

President Havel Grants Weekly Interview

LD1003191191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1315 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by Jiri Vejvoda at Lany Castle on 9 March—recorded: "Conversations at Lany"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vejvoda] Mr. President, I would like to return to the talks on drawing up the new constitution, because we know, as you have said, that this is a high priority for you. Allow me to begin from a rather small-minded angle: There have been objections from certain political circles against the actual venue of the debates on the future constitution, that it is somehow rather undignified for these talks to take place in a pub [the Vikarka restaurant in Prague], so to speak.

[Havel] Yes, I have heard such objections by certain deputies of the Slovak National Party, in the Slovak National Council, and even in the official standpoint of the People's Party. I had to smile a little, because it is perhaps rather more to the point whether the state will survive, whether it will remain as an integral whole, and whether it will have a sound constitution. What really matters is the essence of the issue, and not the venue. Nonetheless, let me try to counter this objection by mentioning one of the reasons why these talks have been taking place in the Vikarka, or rather two of the reasons.

The first reason is that I did not want them to take place in the Castle, because they are really informal and unofficial; they are friendly working meetings, and if they took place in the Castle halls with all that gold, silver, and mirrors, they would take on an official stamp. Suddenly the president would find himself in the role of director and producer of this process of drawing up the constitution and that, somehow, is not by ambition.

The second reason they are taking place at the Vikarka is that at the beginning of my tenure, when we took over the Castle from the previous regime and the whole place was riddled with microphones, we conducted certain important political talks at the Vikarka for the simple reason that we did not want any dark forces to record them, eavesdrop on them, and so forth. These days there are no longer any microphones here, of course; nonetheless, in today's climate of high drama and passions, by holding them in the Vikarka I wanted to somehow recall and bring to mind the atmosphere of harmony we had then, and in a way draw attention to that atmosphere, which is draining out of our political and social life.

[Vejvoda] Mr. President, on Tuesday you gave the journalists, and consequently also the public, a very detailed explanation of the way to see the constitution that is being drafted, and also your views and suggestions. Did the others, who should contribute to the constitution, do this? Or in other words, what turn, both in positive and negative terms, is the path toward this future and very important constitution of this land taking?

[Havel] [passage omitted] My attempt met with a very favorable response, especially in the Czech Republic. I also encountered some very critical reactions, of which many seemed to me quite incomprehensible and unintelligible. They suspected me of the desire to introduce some kind of presidential system. Many were expressing unprofessional views on this topic. I even noted very irritated reactions, but this is probably a part of the parcel. In keeping with various objections, we would like to put final touches to the draft of the constitution in the next few days and to make its text available to the public. Then it can be a subject of debate and examination by specialists from political parties and movements. The point I am making is that these debates should be businesslike, specific, and that specific paragraphs should be debated so it will be a specific work.

As far as the draft itself is concerned, I attempted, or I and my colleagues attempted, to define by this constitution something I would like to term as a continually functioning and viable federation; that is, a federation that still possesses some meaning. I feel that if we wish to live in a federative state, then the only thing that makes sense is to live in a federative state that functions well, one that is beneficial to both republics and to which both republics contribute, one they consider their own, rather than having an ill-functioning constitution and federation, an unviable federation, and a federation regarded as a necessary evil, a burden and obstacle to the development of the republics. In this case I feel that having two independent republics is, indeed, better.

[Vejvoda] One technical question, if I may: Time is passing, all sorts of different approaches are being seen, and people often ask when we might expect to see the Constitution adopted—I am talking about the improved version that you outlined. Have you any idea about this?

[Havel] Yes, this is something we talked about at the last meeting in the Vikarka, and we agreed on a certain procedure. I do not know if it still applies, but the

drafting of all three constitutions—the two republican ones and the federal one—should take place in a coordinated way, because these constitutions need to fit in with one another, otherwise the state will not function. This should be finalized in autumn with the adoption of a fundamental declaration on the will of the people of both republics to live in a common state. In fact, this would be the first time in truly free and new conditions that the freely elected representatives of the two republics in the guise of the two National Councils would make such a declaration. That declaration would form a kind of moral and political or historical backdrop to the federation. Shortly after that, all three constitutions would be adopted at the same time; in other words, on the same day and at the same moment the republican legislatures—the National Councils—adopt the republican constitutions and the Federal Assembly adopts the federal constitution. That has already been agreed in Slavkov, and in my view that would be the best thing, with the proviso that from 1 January the new constitutions would come into force so that preparations for the elections and the drafting of the new electoral law could take place under the new constitutional principles. So the three constitutions would come into effect from 1 January—that is how I see things, and that is what I will be working and pushing for as long as I am able to within the framework of my limited powers.

[Vojvoda] So that, Mr. President, is what we might call the best-case scenario. What would happen in the worse-case scenario?

[Havel] The breakup of the state. That is the alternative that we must ponder seriously. I have never denied or wished to deny any nation the right to its own national identity and that degree of constitutional expression of its statehood to which it aspires. I simply think that it would be extremely disadvantageous and unfortunate for both republics and both nations to live—and particularly at this time to constitute themselves—as two independent state entities. That would entail innumerable complications.

Today's Czechoslovak statehood is determined by hundreds and thousands of international agreements that actually define us as a state and an international legal entity. This goes back to the Versailles Treaty, and these agreements guarantee our borders, and so on and so forth. If our state breaks up into two states, it raises the very complex question of succession; who will be the inheritor of these rights, undertakings, and guarantees? It is not simply up to us to decide to divide things up among ourselves, not to mention the immense economic complications—you know how the two economies are intertwined with thousands and thousands of threads. It would simply mean innumerable complications. If anyone prefers that solution, if the Slovak nation, in particular, prefers that solution, then it has the legitimate right to have that solution.

Nonetheless—and this is something I insist on—this must take place in a constitutional manner, it must happen in a proper and dignified way, and therefore I am in favor of the Federal Assembly's next plenary meeting adopting a law on a referendum that I proposed back in December. There were many different reservations about it in the legislature—it did not win great favor among the deputies—but nonetheless, at this moment I think that such a law should be adopted, no matter how concise and restricted it may be, because it would apply only for a short time until the new constitutions come into effect. It should be adopted so that we have the opportunity to ascertain the true will of the Slovak nation, because in my view such a fundamental issue that affects the life of millions of people, not only millions of today's citizens, but many generations to follow them, cannot be decided by a legislature; it cannot be decided by a legislature or a republican legislature, no matter how democratically it may have been elected. Such a matter must be decided by the people; that means by a popular referendum.

I am concerned when I hear my friend Milan Knazko on television describe the power-sharing law as a small, cosmetic alteration to bureaucratic centralism. The power-sharing law was half a year in the gestation, originally, in fact, on the initiative of the Slovak side. It came up at Trencianske Teplice on the initiative of Prime Minister Meciar. We know how difficult the process of thrashing out its final version was in the Federal Assembly, and that it was subsequently adopted. We know how the whole society breathed a sigh of relief at the fact that the law was adopted. We also know how it often complicates things for the federal institutions. We have the federal government, which adopted the economic reform blueprint, but which is losing many levers with which to put it into effect, precisely through this transfer of powers that has a lot to answer for, so it does not have enough influence. Nonetheless, there was good will on all sides to reach a compromise regarding the demands of the republics, and primarily the Slovak Republic, and the outcome of that will was the power-sharing law. It was a relief for everyone when it was adopted, and now Milan Knazko describes it as a cosmetic alteration to bureaucratic centralism. I simply cannot understand this, it is irresponsible.

[Vejvoda] Mr. President, would it be only the inhabitants of Slovakia who would be asked to express their opinion in such a referendum, or of all Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] If the issue was of Slovakia leaving the federation and of finding a new state legislative implementation of Slovak desires for sovereignty, then this referendum should take place only on the territory of the Slovak Republic. It depends on the manner in which the question of the referendum will be asked. All citizens of the state should be asked to decide about the future of the joint state; nevertheless, the question of separation of part of this joint state must be answered by the nation that is concerned.

Anyhow, in the draft of the constitution with which the journalists have been aquainted, and which is now being

finished, this is formulated in a slightly different way. It is drawn up in such a way as to guarantee that the referendum will not become, for example, a sort of tool for exerting pressure by the executive power on the legislative power, by the govenrment or the president threatening the legislature every so often with the referendum, and in this way limiting its sovereignty. The legislature is the highest legislative body, and it would not be good—it could become a germ for dictatorship—if it became subject to a sort of blackmail. Therefore, it is designed in such a way that a referendum could be used both on a state-wide basis, and also on a republic basis. It is even possible to organize a referendum on a lower level: for example, whether two villages should be united into one, or on the other hand, whether a village should be divided. The system of referendum from bottom to top is in harmony, I think, with a modern civic democracy.

[Vejvoda] Back to the main topic. The issue of the week, so to speak, is of course the declaration of sovereignty or independence of Slovakia that emerged this week.

[Havel] The declaration of sovereignty is only a part of certain very worrying developments in Slovakia. As you know, there has been a somewhat dramatic split between Prime Minister Meciar and some of his supporters, or a part of the Public Against Violence and the legitimate leadership, as it was confirmed by the last assembly. Prime Minister Meciar is by far the most popular politician in Slovakia, there has been a wave of demonstrations in his support—however, taking part have been many of those who Mr. Prime Minister Meciar personally did not like to see among those supporting him, and many slogans that were heard there were not too pleasing for him and too close to his heart either. This dramatic split in the Public Against Violence, those demonstrations—and more as you know, are being planned—the preparation of the constitutions, when the Slovak National Party, the Matica [Slovenska], and others will come out with their proposals for constitutions, the forthcoming anniversary of the foundation of the Slovak state on 14 March, and at the same time the draft proposal of the declaration of sovereignty—all this together creates a very worrying situation.

Let us be aware of what 14 March means. Yes, it was a moment when the Slovak nation, for the first time in its history, got its sovereignty at last. It was at the same time, however, a moment when in fact, not formally, the Second World War started. It was a moment when boundless suffereing started—the war which resulted in 50 million victims, incuding six million Jews who perished.

Let us also be aware of what that state was like, by whose will it was born, what its character was. I am very concerned by the fact that Slovak sovereignty and Slovak autonomy are being discussed so intensively and openly, namely at this moment, and it may seem to some that it is indeed timed to coincide with this anniversary, which I doubt the Slovak nation has a reason to commemorate or even celebrate.

I held talks a week ago with the Public Against Violence leadership; I held talks with Alexander Dubcek the day before yesterday; and last night I talked two to three hours with Prime Minister Meciar, who I invited to Prague. All those talks were intended for me to attempt to map out the situation, to understand, and, as it is my duty, proceeding from the presidential oath, to recommend to all to stay on the soil of the law, on the soil of constitutional procedings. I do not say fight for federation against the will of the Slovak nation. I only appealed to them, saying that a federation is better than two independent states, but if a federation, then a functioning federation and a federation that is able to survive, a federation with a purpose, and not a nonsensical federation.

The declaration of sovereignty that you mentioned is a matter which worries me very much. It was signed by prominent Slovak writers and intellectuals. It was signed by many members of the so-called rebellious generation, and at the same time they published it on the Slovak state anniversary. This is a sad paradox of the matter. The declaration is very worrying, because it is an attempt to achieve a certain exent of independence in a nonconstitutional way. The declaration simply contains demands that are at variance with the present power-sharing bill, with the present constitutional framework, with the present law. It is, in fact, a formal declaration of a limited independence, but independence nevertheless, because doubts are cast on the basic attributes of the federation such as common currency, common army, common foreign policy—all that without which one cannot imagine a federation.

It is somewhat sad and paradoxical for me to see among the names of those who signed the declaration some which I have known for many decades as those implementing that centralist power of the Communist Party, and I remember them as such from the sixties and more so from the Husak regime period. And when a scope for freedom opens, they come out with this! This is a paradox for me, because I remember when in the sixties I, as a kind of rebel, in the Writers' Union I came out with an idea to federate the Writers' Union—for it to be based on a federative principle; it was based then on the assymetric model, as the whole state under Novotny. I remember how the same people, or some of them who prepared the declaration today, how sharply they spoke out against that rebellious idea of mine, saying then that it was at variance with the will of the party, at variance with the socialist policy of our state, at variance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, that it was a provocative demand that would cause a split between the party leadership and the writers' community, which would deprive the writers' community of all enjoyments. [passage omitted]

Let me wind up by saying one more thing: Throughout my tenure as president, I have tried to do what I can for the good name of Czechoslovakia. It seems to me that Czechoslovakia has had a good name and to this day still has. I have traveled many countries, I have gained, if I

may say so, not only personally but rather as the representative of our people, respect for Czechoslovakia, admiration for its fledgling democracy and for its independence, and a desire to help it; but from time to time I wonder whether there is any point.

Next week I am going to the Benelux; I am to make a keynote speech at NATO headquarters, I am to visit the EC, and so forth, and I admit that I am beginning to be a little ashamed for Czechoslovakia. When I reap all the praise and declarations of goodwill from the world's politicians, when I collect all these prizes, honorary doctorates, and so forth, I blush a little. I am a little ashamed when I recall the petty-minded arguments on the domestic political scene, the strange and ill-humored invective by one against the other on television and elsewhere, when I recall the suspicion and misunderstandings. I was sad to see how some deputies in the Slvoak National Council reacted to the fact that I dared to propose an initiative on the shape of the federal constitution. They even presented it as some sort of insult to the Slovak nation. I do not know what was insulting about it; I do not understand it. When I see all this, I admit that on the international scene I am a little ashamed, and I blush a little when I reap all the praise, and I have the impression that I do not deserve it.

Meciar, Hungarian Official Discuss Dam Issue

LD0803222991 Budapest MTI in English 2057 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava, March 8 (MTI)—Slovakian Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Czechoslovakian Government commissioner in charge of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Dam issue, agrees that "it would be desirable to find a mutually acceptable solution," Imre Szokai, secretary of state at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told journalists on Friday, after concluding his talks in Bratislava.

Szokai presented a letter from the relevant Hungarian Government commissioner, Ferenc Madl, to Meciar on Thursday evening, proposing that the government commissioners meet in Budapest in the near future. Szokai was of the opinion that the Slovakian and Hungarian positions on the dam issue were similar.

On Friday, Szokai also conferred with Ivan Carnogursky, deputy speaker of Slovakian parliament, Konstantin Viktorin, vice-president of the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly, Milan Knazko, Slovakian minister for external relations, and his deputy, Roman Zelenay.

Szokai presented a letter from Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of the Hungarian parliament, to his counterpart, Ivan Carnogursky, outlining the possibility of his forthcoming visit to Bratislava.

With regard to the relations between Hungary and Slovakia, Imre Szokai said that 50 Hungarian Slovakian teachers are shortly to receive postgraduate training in Slovakia. At the same time, joint efforts are being made at lowering the unreasonable prices charged for Hungarian books and press products in Czechoslovakia. The Slovakian reaction in this respect was "constructive and positive".

Imre Szokai also said that Hungary supported the idea of setting up a Slovakian cultural centre either in Bekescsaba or Szeged, and expressed the hope that the construction of a Hungarian cultural centre would begin soon with planning permission being granted by March 15. (The Hungarian cultural centre in Bratislava will start its operations in a temporarily hired building on March 15.)

Reportage on Pithart Visit to RSFSR

WA1103153091

For Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] reportage on Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart's visit to the Russian Republic, including meetings with Russian officials and remarks on trade cooperation, see the RSFSR section of the 11 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Walesa, Gorbachev To Set Date for Troop Pullout

LD1203143291 Warsaw PAP in English 1323 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—In my opinion the date of final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland will be fixed at a meeting between Presidents Lech Walesa and Mikhail Gorbachev, Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of Soviet Army general staff, said after his talks at the Polish National Defence Ministry today.

As regards the transit of Soviet units from Germany via Poland, the Soviet side will not use the road transport but sea and rail one, Moiseyev added.

Skubiszewski, Soviet General View Troop Pullout

LD1103232491 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—"The pullout of Soviet troops from Poland could begin in April or May just like the transit of the Western Group of Soviet Troops from Germany. We have found understanding for this proposal," General Mikhail Moiseyev announced after his talks with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Moiseyev, who is the Chief of General Staff of Soviet Armed Forces, came to Warsaw today for two days of talks about the pullout of Soviet troops from this country.

Skubiszewski said, on the other hand, that "Should large Soviet units begin to leave Poland, it is possible that some transit could start. Its extent will be determined, which does not mean any change in our position that it is necessary to conclude agreements on the withdrawal of Soviet troops and their transit through our territory. Only then these matters will be fully settled. Flexibility requires that some moves be taken right now, but they are limited to some extent."

Skubiszewski described his nearly two-hour talks with the Soviet delegation as "open, firm at times, but frank and not avoiding any difficulties. [no closing quotation marks as received] Moiseyev said the talks were moving in the right direction.

The meeting, attended by Viktor Dubinin, commander-in-chief of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army, was held on the Polish initiative after Skubiszewski had suggested it to Soviet Defence Minister Yazov in Budapest.

Skubiszewski underscored that the problems of Soviet troops pullout and transit needed a fast solution or otherwise this would affect the Polish-Soviet relations.

"We want to avoid the problem of internationalization, but as we know other states, including some superpowers, call attention to the fact that Poland is a country which has failed to solve the question of pullout of Soviet troops till now," Skubiszewski told journalists.

Skubiszewski said Poland still held on to the end of this year as a deadline for Soviet troops pullout, but some margin of moving this way or another must be kept.

The Soviet side proposed an earlier date than mid-1994 for the pullout and argued that they had no accomodation for soldiers coming back from Germany and Poland before that date.

This argument recurs in all talks on withdrawal. Some 200 thousand apartments are said to be missing to accommodate Soviet officers coming back home.

Skubiszewski said Poland was ready to help on a commercial basis to construct apartments with its machinery stationed in the Soviet Union but the talks on this matter were very slow.

Another round of experts' talks stated that is not up to a foreign minister to make such proposals. General Moiseyev declared that one should avoid statements causing friction and unnecessary conflicts."

Dubinin had earlier made a number of statements which caused an uproar in Warsaw among them that Moscow would not pull all its troops out of Poland before the transit operation was complete.

Country 'Technically' Ready for Troop Withdrawal

LD1103193191 Warsaw PAP in English 1459 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Poland is technically prepared for the operation of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and their transit through this country from Germany, head of the office of the Polish Council of Ministers, chairman of the inter-ministerial commission for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland Krzysztof Zabinski said during a press conference here today.

Zabinski added that negotiations are continued and despite differences of opinions as to the date of the withdrawal, the Polish Government hopes that the talks will lead to a satisfactory solution.

Skubiszewski Interviewed on German Relations

AU0803125791 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5 Mar 91 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Klaus Franke in Warsaw; date not given: "No Border Between Prosperity and Poverty"]

[Text] [Franke] Mr. Minister, in these first days of March, German-Polish relations are experiencing a strong revival of political contacts at a high level after a stage of relative clam. This is shown by the overlapping of two important visits: the official visit of Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth to Warsaw, which started

yesterday, and the talks of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, which take place in Bonn today. Where do you see the intention and the goal of your head of government's trip?

[Skubiszewski] We have very important and active relations with Germany, and the prime minister will certainly discuss the most important issues of these relations with the FRG chancellor. These involve, above all, economic relations. The FRG is Poland's biggest partner in this area, and it is also our main creditor. This fact will also determine the importance of these problems during the prime minister's talks in Bonn. We expect the FRG to support our ideas concerning a reduction of Polish debts, as the United States in particular have been doing for many months.

The negotiations about the future German-Polish treaty, the great treaty on cooperation and good neighborliness, will certainly also be discussed. Thus, these are contacts of the utmost importance, particularly since, as you noticed, the relations have been too quiet over the past two or three months.

[Franke] Poland has waited for several months for the FRG Government to propose a date for the fourth round of the negotiations on the announced treaty on good neighborliness between Germany and Poland, which have been conducted since October. What, do you think, are the reasons for the break since the last round in December?

[Skubiszewski] You should ask the FRG Government this question, because the Polish side has always been willing to continue the negotiations, also during the elections and during the formation of the governments in the two countries. We were, therefore, against a break, although we accepted the German proposal for such a break with understanding. In my view, however, foreign policy should be as independent as possible from domestic policy. Furthermore, in Germany, I observe a broad, perhaps too broad, interlacing of the two spheres of foreign and domestic policy. For us, good relations with Germany are of national importance, independent of the formation of this or that government in Poland. Our foreign policy remains the same even after a change in this government and after the election of the new president.

[Franke] In your view, which are the areas in which the German-Polish community of interests, for which our two neighboring states are striving, could be implemented in the easiest and best way? Where do you see special opportunities?

[Skubiszewski] The ambiguities that existed because of the German-Polish border have meanwhile been abolished. This is very important. Now we must expand the structures of the treaty, which leads to the importance of the negotiations on the treaty on good neighborliness and very close cooperation. The idea of a German-Polish community of interests was mine. We need this treaty to form this community of interests, which already exists to a certain extent. This is not all. We need very good and close cooperation at three levels: political, economic, and human. Intensive work in these directions is, therefore, necessary on both sides; furthermore, the break in the negotiations on the treaty should not be extended any further. After we have signed the treaty on good-neighborliness, this treaty and the border treaty should be ratified as quickly as possible. Again, I am against a domestic policy influence on these highly important international facts, because German-Polish relations are not only a bilateral matter, but a matter of utmost important for all of Europe and for European unification.

[Franke] In Poland as in the new laender there have been varied efforts for quite some time to adjust the respective economies to the principles and requirements of the free market economy. To what extent do these developments influence our mutual relations?

[Skubiszewski] We have suffered losses in the former GDR because of German unification, which Poland supported. There were contracts between Polish and former GDR enterprises, which have now become obsolete. Our exports to this area is limited, but there are also great opportunities. We have to cooperate in such a way that we abolish the differences that exit on either side of the border. The border should not be a border between prosperity and poverty, between order and a difficult new development in Poland; this border should not separate the two countries regarding economic and human relations. In short, I consider cooperation between the border areas very important. In the long term, the establishment of the free market economy is, of course, a very positive development for Poland and also for the former GDR.

[Franke] Concerning the prospects of German-Polish cooperation and good- neighborly relations in politics, economy, and culture: How do you assess these prospects?

[Skubiszewski] The chances are very good for that. I have not yet mentioned culture, but I see good prospects in particular in this field. There is also very much interest on both sides, regarding the way of living in both countries and for the civilizations. I would like to mention translations of literature and the exchange of theaters and films. Here I see great opportunities, and cooperation in the field of culture creates a good atmosphere between Poles and Germans. I want to steadily improve this atmosphere.

Bielecki's FRG Visit Called 'Promising'

AU1103223291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Mar 91 p 1

[Krzysztof Bien commentary: "Discussions About the Future"]

[Text] Prime Minister Jan Bielecki—judging by what he said during his return flight—is very pleased with the

outcome of his talks with Chancellor Kohl and other German politicians. One has to admit that there is reason to feel pleased with the results of Prime Minister Bielecki's working visit, although the prime minister did not disclose details of two key issues that he discussed in Bonn.

The first is a new draft of Article 15 in the Treaty on Good-Neighborly Relations and Cooperation currently under negotiation. The article is on the rights of the German minority in Poland. The proposed new wording is to be closely examined by the Polish side in the coming week, but the first reactions from experts lead to the belief that the article is satisfactory and falls within acceptable European norms, said Prime Minister Bielecki.

The second is Polish indebtedness. The Prime Minister did not disclose details, but he drew attention to the close relationship between the size of any future debt reduction and the time scale it might take. Nevertheless, everything seems to indicate that concrete decisions on this crucial matter are about to be made.

The talks also showed that Poland's attempt to secure a quick association agreement with the European Economic Community is viewed favorably by Germany. The agreement could even be concluded before July 1991. The Germans have also indicated their desire for closer cooperation with Poland in organizing Polish border crossing points, the so-called Polish "shop windows" to the West. Without these improvements in organization, we run the risk of making an unfavorable impression on Germany and the West as we try to "open up."

Added to these issues, one can also mention Chancellor Kohl's professed readiness to abolish visa requirements within several weeks for Poles wishing to travel to Germany. There is even a possibility that this concession may also extend to all the countries of the Schengen Group, where Germany currently holds the chairmanship. In total, the outcome of the visit looks rather promising. The atmosphere of the talks was friendly and without suspicions or allusions to the "bad spirits of the past." In a nutshell, the visit was a good natured, working visit between the heads of two neighboring states. The kind of visit that—although still a novelty to us—is nevertheless a commonplace event in a Europe that is moving ever closer towards unification.

Walesa, Advisory Committee Discuss Fall Elections

LD1103231191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa met members of the Advisory Committee in the Belweder Palace this morning. Andrzej Jelenski returned from the Belweder a moment ago.

[Jelenski] Opinions on the current political situation in Poland following the recent Sejm decision on the deferrment of the parliamentary elections until the autumn, were shared. After the meeting I had the opportunity to talk to members of the Advisory Committee, who said that the president was not satisfied with Parliament's decision. The stance of the Advisory Committee members was already widely known. They are in favor of spring parliamentary elections.

Attention was drawn to the fact that it deferred the possibility of introducing full democracy into the Republic until as late as the autumn, in other words, six months. Members of the president's Advisory Committee pointed out that Poland is traveling a very difficult path of evolution, on which various kinds of decelerations can occur. The situation that has arisen after the Sejm's debate is such an example. It is a new situation. The committee is preparing a document for the president—a study containing detailed remarks on this new situation. Today's meeting was of a typically working nature.

Government Spokesman on Autumn Elections Decision

LD1203103991 Warsaw PAP in English 2143 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The Sejm (lower house) decision to postpone parliamentary elections till autumn means the extension of our government's mission, government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski told PAP today. This entails the necessity to correct the tactics of ruling, but the strategy of goals will not be altered, he said.

The government is first of all obliged to implement the economic reform, to ensure political and social conditions for it. And here, regardless the date for elections, nothing is changed, Zarebski stated.

In another development, the Solidarity presidium meeting in Gdansk today stated the decision is uncomprehensible and disquieting for them. It also arouses surprise in view of the declarations favouring early elections to the Sejm made by all parliamentary groups, Solidarity said.

The statement also recalled that Solidarity has been demanding fully free parliamentary elections to be held this spring for a year and said that decisions on possible electoral coalitions will be taken after the Sejm adopts the electoral law.

While expressing its readiness to run in parliamentary elections at any date, the Polish Peasant Party received with understanding the Sejm resolution on the autumn elections although it considered May or June a better date.

On the other hand, the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) said that the postponement of elections is

contrary to the interest of Poland and charged the leftist camp with the lack of responsibility for her future.

Deputies Criticize Walesa's Senate Proposal

AU1103161291 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Ryszard Holzer report: "Deputies Criticize Walesa's Idea of Separate Sejm and Senate Tenures"]

[Text] "An attempt to set the Sejm and Senate at odds with each other," was independent Sejm deputy Andrzej Bratkowski's description of President Walesa's idea of a constitutional amendment that would permit the Senate to remain in office even after the Sejm had dissolved itself.

Bratkowski thought the president's idea should be considered a part of the political contest.

Judging from the reactions we received from various deputies, Walesa's proposal does not stand much chance of success. None of the deputies who spoke to us thought it would receive the necessary two-thirds of Sejm votes. The direct result of this proposal is that the Senate has stopped its work on the parliamentary election rules.

Yesterday (6 March) [as published], Minister of State Slawomir Siwek applied on behalf of the Presidential Chancellery for permission for the Senate to temporarily stop examining the draft election rules. In this situation, the Senate Presidium decided to postpone the Senate plenary session until 15 March.

In his remarks, Deputy Bratkowski said the government and Sejm have created the laws that govern political changes, but the Senate has merely made people aware of these laws by means of, among other things, its legislative initiative of banning abortion. Therefore, the existence of the Senate, at least in its present form, where there is a lack of clearly defined tasks, is of doubtful value.

Nevertheless, Bratkowski does not think the present Sejm has the power to make such an important constitutional decision as the dissolution of the Senate. The subject should be dealt with during a constitutional debate of the next Parliament.

Deputy Aleksander Luczak, deputy chairman of the Polish Peasant Party Deputies Club, fears that the presidential idea may be a new cause of friction between the two chambers of Parliament.

Deputy Janusz Szymanski, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left [PKLD], disagrees with a bicameral parliament in general and says that "the political origins of the two chambers are the reason for the differences between the powers of each. One should, however, consider the fact that neither of them is as democratic and representative as they are made out to be." Szymanski observed that accepting Walesa's proposal would be rare in parliamentary tradition. Only in Great Britain are the terms of office of both parliamentary chambers not concurrent.

PKLD Chairman Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz spoke in a similar vein. He said that the Senate was one of the results of the "roundtable" accords. It was the price "the former authorities paid to the former opposition" for agreeing to create the office of president. He also said that opinion polls do not suggest that the Senate has more support than the Sejm. That proves that society's opinion of these institutions depends not on how they came into being, but how they function.

What is interesting is that even deputies belonging to parliamentary groups that are also represented inside the Senate do not approve of Walesa's idea. Ryszard Bugaj from the Solidarity Labor Circle (OKP) [Citizens Parliamentary Club] said that the composition of the Senate was determined by the fact that it was part of the "roundtable" accords. If all vestiges of these accords are to be abolished, one cannot make an exception out of the Senate and preserve it.

Deputy Jerzy Orzel from the Center Accord Circle (OKP) said that the Senate is dominated by the "Solidarity stream," which merely reflects the political sympathies that existed two years ago. Many new streams have appeared in Poland since then, however, and the Parliament should reflect the current political structure. That applies to both chambers.

Jan Litynski from the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Union fears that examining the presidential initiative would prolong legislative work on the election rules and would exacerbate animosity within the Sejm. Litynski admitted that the initiative contains a "core of rationality" in that the Senate could continue in office as a "stabilizer" between the end of the present Sejm and beginning of the new one, but presenting the initiative reveals the "confusion of the presidential camp, making decisions that are doomed to fail."

Not everyone we asked wanted to talk to us, but those who did said that they were speaking solely on their own behalf. Their respective parliamentary clubs will adopt official stances on this matter later.

Several deputies agreed to talk to us only on the condition that they remain anonymous. A remark by one OKP deputy is noteworthy: "The president has treated us as if we got to the Sejm in an undemocratic way. Yet we were chosen in a free election. Some of us won more votes than many senators did."

Roman's 'State of the Nation Report' Continues

AU1103134591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0938 GMT 11 Mar 91

["Part Ten" of "State of the Nation Report" by Prime Minister Petre Roman to Parliament on 26 February]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/3/1991—The importance of privatisation in government strategy needs hardly be emphasised.

The following are the aims that the government sets to itself as far as privatisation is concerned:

a) To end the transformation of state economic units into autonomous units and commercial companies;

b) To end the evaluation of the property of these economic agents and make a final appraisal of the social capital;

c) To take stock of the property of economic agents in terms of physical structure and in this way ensure the substance of the titles to property, a process that is indispensable for the exercise of the respective agents decision-making right and for their association with foreign firms;

d) To form and distribute securities;

e) To set up specialised financial bodies that hold common funds made up of the stock of commercial companies groups in which the population can hold securities that may bring it dividends.

This last action would be an intermediate phase before the securities are changed to shares, a phase that will enable the capital-market formation and get the population accustomed to the way of action and reasoning on that market.

Through the privatisation bill which is being drafted, with international specialist assistance, the government will propose to distinguish between small scale privatisation (small workshops, shops, certain service units, etc.) and large-scale privatisation (large industrial units). The small-scale privatisation will be achieved by the direct sale of units to the people concerned. Whereas large-scale privatisation will be achieved through the sales of shares. For that purpose, Romania's National Bank was empowered by the government to start preparing, jointly with the Council for Reform, the future stock exchange.

Meanwhile, privatisation in agriculture, for which the legal basis exists, is taking place as a distinct process, as well as housing privatisation the norms for which are being improved.

The privatisation process requires as of this stage a change in the work of state administration and the management of economic agents.

We must add here another fact, namely that, in the opinion of the government, privatisation should relate to restructuring and openness in as much as the real efficiency of each economic agent is concerned. Indeed, the decision to sell state shares must be made in view of the economic strategy model. But private investors are hard to attract as long as restructuring has not even started to allow them to make the slightest prognosis on the future of the enterprise they invest in. Finally, economic surveys and feasibility studies for each economic unit and the publicity of their results will serve as a basis for the options of both the state and private entrepreneurs for the transfer or purchase of economic units.

Under these circumstances, as far as the privatisation strategy is concerned, the government will have in view the following:

a) Setting the aims of privatisation in direct relationship with the aims of restructuring;

b) Setting the basic criteria for selection of the enterprises to be privatised and the degree of privatisation for each enterprise;

c) Setting the preferences and facilities for each category of investors within the privatisation process;

d) The priorities and pace of privatisation by classes of enterprises and branches.

Decision on these lines will be made with due respect for the general principles of privatisation stated in the government report of 18 October 1990 and within the budget availabilities for 1991. They will be summed up in a privatisation law that is expected to be put before parliament by the end of March 1991, in a programme for the application of the law that will be completed in April-May and in a programme aimed to continue the creation of institutions required by the privatisation process due for completion in the month of May.

Civic Alliance Protests New Constitution

AU1103113991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["Civic Alliance Protest" against draft constitution—place and date not given]

[Text] The **Civic Alliance** most seriously protests the way in which the voting on the theses of the new constitution is used to legitimate the form of government in Romania, in connection with which our nation has never been and will never be consulted.

Our protest is based on the following considerations:

1. In Romania's institutional tradition, there is no precedent of such an important decision for which responsibility was entrusted solely to a representative assembly.

2. The adoption—on the basis of the 22 December 1989 Proclamation—of the official name of **Romania**, without

any other qualification, leaves open the issue of forming the government and implies that the nation's right has been recognized to consciously choose the form they deem proper for the country's prosperity: parliamentary republic, presidential republic or constitutional monarchy. This right is now being violated by the Constituent Assembly.

3. The election law does not stipulate in its text—nor does it imply—the fact that the Constituent Assembly is entitled to decide, on its own, on the form of government of the Romanian state. The hasty and mechanical voting on the principle according to which Romania will be a republic thus exceeds the mandate given to the Constituent Assembly by the nation on 20 May 1989 and, therefore, constitutes an abuse.

4. Adopting the definition of Romania as a presidential republic aggravates this abuse. Thus an institution created by Ceausescu in 1974 and abolished on the basis of the 22 December 1989 proclamation is given power of law.

5. Compared with the only presidential institution in Romania's history—the one of Ceausescu—the prerogatives stipulated by the theses discussed in the Constituent Assembly bestow on the future president much greater power than the legal power bestowed on his predecessor. The accumulation of elements of legislative, executive, and judicial power will cause the future presidential institution to flagrantly violate the principle of separating state powers, thus representing a **legalization of the presidential dictatorship.**

On behalf of the nation, to whom they are responsible, the **Civic Alliance** appeals to the awareness of all members of the Constituent Assembly not to take advantage of the mandate with which they have been entrusted.

The **Civic Alliance** calls on the entire nation to bear in mind the responsibilities resting on each one in building a state of law that involves the destiny of future generations to an extent such as does not permit passivity or indifference. Each one of us will have to account to our children for the way in which we have struggled for democracy and for civil rights.

Need Seen for FSN To Form 'Realistic Strategy'

AU1103134991 Bucahrest ROMPRES in English 1152 GMT 11 Mar 91

["Political Life: The National Salvation Front Between Two Strategies"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/3/1991—The National Salvation Front [FSN], the ruling party, is not the proponent of a return to the inter-war type capitalism, the FSN mouthpiece daily "AZI" shows in an article that attempts an answer to two questions, namely: "We abandon communism, but what kind of society do we want to build instead?" And "What future social model does a social democratic party like the FSN put before us?"

The National Salvation Front, the article says, is an opponent of the communism with a human face foreseeable in the sixties, and embodied by the perestroyka movement today. In this troubled transition period the FSN will have to develop a suitable programmatically realistic strategy, and in that strategy not all social democratic tenets can be fulfilled. However, one must distinguish between the FSN's short-term and long-term strategies. At the present stage the Front is the "reform party," and since nobody has ready solutions for "transition," it is inevitable that errors should still be made, and hesitancy and groping would be recorded now and then. The new society will be built little by little.

But the Front should also set a long-term ideal and that, the newspaper says, could be a welfare society of social democratic inspiration, one which "should, first of all, lead us away from poverty and give us material prosperity, and secondly give the human person an opportunity for free development and fulfilment."

The basis of the economy and society as a whole would be property of various kinds, with state property making up the smaller part and the private property the larger part. Political power and economic power should retain their autonomy as much as this is possible. A market economy should be built on efficiency, not ideological, criteria. A differentiated social structure should develop (egalitarianism and homogenization should be opposed), with no class struggle and no leading class in it and avoiding the revival of the nomenklatura, that is to say of a self-reproducing cast-like elite. Which does not rule out artistic, scientific, sports or even political elites, meaning high-class professionals, not office holders for life. Social justice and fairness implies the action of the state for the re-distribution of the wealth through mechanisms that have yet to be developed, the newspaper says and concludes that even though elements of this outline social democratic society are emerging, their full development will take both effort and time.

Opposition Parties Boycott Meeting With Iliescu

AU1103205791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/3/1991—True to the idea of openness and permanent dialogue with all the political forces, President Ion Iliescu invited to the Cotroceni Palace on Monday, March 11, the leaders of the parliamentary groups of all the parties and political formations represented in Parliament, reads a communique from the presidency's press office.

During the talks opinions were expressed on the government's report which Prime Minister Petre Roman had presented in Parliament. The participants criticised the report, appreciating that it lacked concreteness and it

didn't offer a prospective image and a concrete programme for the transition period. The critics insisted on the necessity for a popular support for the reform and for the quick adoption of social security measures, taking into account the next stage of price liberalization.

Most of the participants underscored the slow pace of the discussions on the constitution's theses, showing the necessity to finalise them in order to allow for the text to be drafted within the period stipulated by the election law.

Proposals were made to celebrate a number of international events in Romania.

Those present considered the dialogue as very useful in the present internal political context, in order to choose the best solutions to the economic and social difficulties confronting Romania.

Under these conditions—the communique reads—it is at least surprising to note the absence from the discussions of representatives of the National Liberal Party, the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Romanian Ecologist Party and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, who—in a letter sent to the presidency—motivated their refusal to participate by qualifying the dialogue as "formal" and "propagandistic."

Despite this the president expressed his conviction that dialogue would remain the democratic way of consultation with all the parties and parliamentarian formations on the major issues of the country's political, economic and social life, and expressed his availability for similar meetings.

Attempt Made To Explain Opposition's Success

AU1103112891 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 5 Mar 91 p 5

[Tudor Balteanu article: "Monstrous Hybridization"]

[Text] Trying to find an explanation for the obvious successes of the extremist opposition among intellectuals, I reached the conclusion that this success is mainly based on three pillars: the charismatic effect of certain artistic and literary personalities; the monopolization of the institutional and technical infrastructure of culture; and scholarship and money. No matter how much charisma, how many publishers, and how many scholarships one has, however, one cannot do anything without organization, determination, and a penetrating force. I am afraid that the extremist opposition is teaching us a lesson on this issue, too.

Maybe there are not many of these radical opponents—I do not know their number—but it is certain that they have a sense of community. They form a family, and, according to gossip, they have already started the pleasures of applying a military-type of organizational rules. It is true that this "military training," which has hardly been eliminated from schools, cannot be easily seen. It is clear to me, however, that behind the facade of "important personalities," sacred monsters of the Group for Social Dialogue and of the "Civic Alliance," meaning the "elite": Paleologu, Manolescu, Cretia, Blandiana, Paler, and others are ruling. These form the "tough core" of the organization, who are unquestioned holders of an evil force that is a direct result of their intellectual qualities. An attack detachment that includes intellectual activists of lesser importance such as Stelian Tanase, P.M. Bacanu, S.R. Stanescu and others follows. These "colonels" are formally included in the structures of the central leadership, although we suspect a discreet contempt with which the "generals" look at them from their aristocratic palaces on Victory Road. Then, the students form another echelon of "chosen" people. This is explainable because they are the major "reserve of cadres" in the movement. That is why their leaders, such as Marian Munteanu, enjoy so much honor within the opposition, whose major goal is "to organize the streets." I suspect that the trade union movement—so highly regarded for the strength of its political impact—has been evaluated in the same way, although here we also guess that there is a natural reserve of intellectual aristocracy. Thus, slowly, slowly, we reach the "ordinary soldiers" —the poor relatives of the "big family"—who have been selected from the mob in the street, the leaders of the slums, the tramps, the handicapped children of orphanages, and the professionals of political windfall. They represent the tip of the spear in the movement, and the movement's "base of masses," meant to confer "credibility" on it before the current leadership. Only through the coherent functioning of all these echelons can one explain the impact, which should not be ignored, that the "Civic Alliance" has in the political arena. Only in this way could the apolitical opposition of a few shrewd intellectuals turn into the violent street movement with exclusively political goals that frightened the whole country and alienated the electorate.

What is most tragic—and I believe a historic tragedy is being repeated now—is the fact that there is a line of continuity, a sacred brotherhood—that is, a monstrous hybridozation—between the "elite" of the first echelon and the occupiers of the streets. For many intellectuals who act in full faith and who joined the "movement" with clean souls, this link is not obvious at all. The majority of supporters continues to be attracted by "ideals," and they justifiably feel hurt when their idols are attacked with boulders of lucidity from the other side of the barricade. As an honest intellectual, how can you join a group in which the translators of Plato join the pickpockets of Bucharest in front of the video cameras for the sole purpose of being carried on solid shoulders to the thrones of power?! This is a group in which smooth poets cry out of emotion in the midst of a colorful mob, which, with bloated eyes, is demanding the president's blood, blood! This is the group in which Eminescu's exegetes are praying for those who throw Molotov cocktails and for those who are considered "divine." This is the group in which respectable university professors are

"colleagues" with worthless students who until yesterday were informers of the Securitate. How can one take part in such a prostitution of the condition of the intellectual on the altar of power?!

No, you will say, it is impossible that THESE PEOPLE would abet such a compromise only because they do not occupy the armchairs of power that they believe they deserve. I also believed it, and I also believed these hieratic people from the heaven of our present culture to be completely immune to the attraction of worldly power. I was mistaken, however. Exactly these people—almost during every intermission in their dishonest war waged against the current power—ask with a demanding tone the same power to grant them functions, embassies, and houses and palaces for their headquarters. The leaders of the "Civic Alliance," after a vigorous time of "Down With Iliescu," in December asked the same president for...Ceausescu's house and a couple of ambassadorial posts. They based these claims on the fact that they are the "elite" and only they deserve these functions! This is incomparable arrogance, devastating disdain, and impudence that exceeds all normal limits—this is the calling card of the opposition of extremist intellectuals.

The latest resignation in the Writers' Union also demonstrates that the aforementioned scheme works wonderfully. This institution was seized by the "elite." The "elite" demoted a writer on political grounds (!) and many other important intellectuals have been overlooked on the same grounds. In a more concrete way, they were guilty of not joining the club of extremist opponents; they dared to think events over by using their own heads. Poet Marin Sorescu was such a "rebel" (in other ways moderate). Here he is now, demoted from his job with the magazine RAMURI and resigned from the Writers' Union. The "moral court of justice" included the same "radicals": N. Manolescu, A. Blandiana, St. Aug. Doinas, and M. Dinescu. Four cultural "figures" were brought to the fore, probably to show that the "people's masses" were not satisfied with the poet's performance! The manipulation of violence with increasing skill and more and more openly—this is the secret of the political prominence of the "minority" over the "majority." The pro-government forces "lag behind" too much on this subject, but it is their only "fault" and they can be praised for it. What a difference between the political elimination of Barbu or Sorescu and the refusal of the National Salvation Front [FSN] member prime minister to release Plesu, who still remains the "independent" of the opposition.

I do not know how this situation of frightening the "majority" can be overcome. Maybe through a victory of the opposition in elections, something that would calm its demolishing enthusiasm and would permit the Front to find its individuality as a party. Only everybody would be asking the same question: after the extremist opposition's show of force and after threats with "political purging" and "moral courts of justice," what will the opposition do if it wins power?

No matter how, we must admit that the FSN, as a party, has done too little so far to increase or to recuperate the prestige of this political formation. The distribution of the major leaders among the government, Presidency, and Parliament left a void of effectiveness in Varsoviei Street. Unfortunately, this void has not been filled in the past six months. Of course, the country's management is important, but it does not mean that the party has to be forgotten. The party should be made to live through itself and not only through the achievements of its representatives in the state bodies because governments pass, but parties stay....

'Upside Down' Post-Revolution Situation Deplored

AU1003195891 Bucharest 22 in Romanian No. 8 1 Mar 91 p 4

[Tia Serbanescu article: "A World Upside Down"]

[Text] All of us know—some from their own experience, others from what they have read—the world turns upside down after a revolution, waters become troubled, and the scum often gathers on the surface Thus it was normal that such 'earth slides' occur in the wake of the December 1989 revolution, and that we should expect surprises. What is by no means normal, however, is the fact that these disorders, which were supposed to be temporary, have settled so thoroughly that they have become the new order—which is not only viewed as the final result of the revolution, but also as its aim. Could this have been the aim of the revolution? This world turned upside down to which we belong sometimes having the impression that nothing illogical is alien to it?

What kind of a revolution was the revolution of December 1989, which claimed more than 1,000 human lives, when those against whom it was directed continue to be in power, while those who continue to support its aims are hardly tolerated?; when the power of the guilty is increasing with every passing day, while all hopes of the not guilty are shattered?; when those who for years and decades lied continue to lie in a loud voice, while those who did not want to lie are considered more guilty than the former? What kind of a revolution was it, when in the world that followed it Mr. Ion Iliescu is a good patriot, while Mrs. Doina Cornea is a traitor and Mr. Barladeanu is an honorable person, while Mr. Liiceanu is suspect?; when C.V. Tudor is a patriot and P. M. Bacanu a crook?; when A. Paunescu is a patriot and Ana Blandiana an iron-guardist?; when V. Vacaru is believed to be more concerned with culture than Mr. Andrei Plesu?; when S. Brucan appears on television all day long, while Petru Cretia is beaten up in two instances?; when the parliament passes the law on the withdrawal of the citizenship of those who "blemish" Romania's image through words? What kind of a Parliament has this revolution, which was exasperated by communism, produced when it was able to pass laws that would do credit to Stalin—that is, the Army's obligation to participate in repression and the withdrawal of citizenship—a law that violates all international democratic conventions? What

kind of a revolution was it when, in the world that followed it, the ex-Securitate chief is considered a great patriot and a former political detainee a traitor? This world turned upside down in which second- and third-rate activists do and undo affairs in the Parliament, the economy, and the public arena by forming a genuine Mafia with obscure interests and aggressive outbursts against common sense and logical things; this world turned upside down in which we live stifled by moral intoxication caused by the multilateral affairs of this Mafia, this world turned upside down—what connection has it with the revolution that claimed more than 1,000 people's lives?

Yes, this revolution that represents the exacerbation of the vices of the communist society against which the revolution was directed. This world turned upside down represents the national defiance of the revolution. Those, who are aware and say such a thing, are viewed as destabilizers for nothing, because what is there to destabilize?

The economy has been destabilized by the government in a way no one would have equaled. Our society? The National Salvation Front has destabilized our society better than any one else. Our peace and quiet? The Securitate has destabilized it in a more professional way than ever before. Our comfort? Poverty, which has been reached because of the plundering that has spread everwhere, has destabilized it.

Hence, what on earth is there to destabilize? The Mafia can never be destabilized.

PSDR Congress Ends; Cunescu Reelected Leader

AU1003163091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1991—On Sunday, March 10, a press conference was organized at the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR] on the conclusion of the proceedings of that party's congress held over March 8-9, 1991, under the motto "Through Truth Towards Social Democracy."

At the beginning of the press conference, Mr.Sergiu Cunescu, re-elected as president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, deputy in Romania's Parliament, made several specifications in connection with the congress: the congress, the first after the December 1989 revolution, he said, analyzed two documents the statute and the programme of the Social Democratic Party of Romania which were adapted to the current political, economic and social situation in Romania. In its second part the new executives were elected, taking into consideration the promotion of young cadres who had distinguished themselves through sustained activity.

Further, Professor Traian Greavu, elected as first vice-president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, underscored: We shall have to change the entire activity of our party so that the Social Democratic Party of Romania become a real presence in Romania's political life and may prove through deeds, not through words that we can be an alternative of governmental programme.

The new Steering Committee also includes: Constantin Avramescu, Nicolae Strachinaru, Victor Vaum and Traian Novac, all vice- presidents of the party, and Alexandru Meissner, Nicolae Bildea, Variu Arbore, Corneliu Vlad Diaconescu and Radu Dimitrescu, as secretaries in charge with various questions.

Trial of Top PCR Members Enters 'Final Stage'

AU0803213391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/3/1991—The trial of the former Politbureau members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR] on genocide charges has entered its final stage. In its Friday 8 March session, the Bucharest Military Tribunal pronounced the judicial investigation closed and set the start of the substantive debate for 12 March.

Of the 55 witnesses of the defence listed by the Prosecutor General's Office—the Military Prosecutors' Division—the court only heard 18 who were believed to contribute significantly to its knowledge of the defendants' involvement in the December 1989 events.

As concerns the evidence suggested by the counsels for the defence and the defendants, the court only accepted that written evidence be submitted.

Finance Minister Sets Tax on Imported Goods

AU1103135191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1113 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/3/1991—For imported products that are resold in the Romanian market through several intermediate economic agents, the turnover tax is due both by the importer and by every economic agent that resells, shows an order issued by the Minister of Finance Teodor Stolojan.

Also, the turnover tax on imported products bought by the economic agents directly from foreign partners or through import-export companies and used for own needs, production or investments, shall be calculated with the application of the tax quotas to the value in customs and is due as revenue to the central administration budget concomitant with the payment of the products to the suppliers.

The order was issued to avert and control fiscal evasion phenomena generated by the excessive circulation of certain imported goods, especially consumer goods, through the mediation of several economic agents.

*** Failure of Economic Policy Alleged**

91BA0347A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Serban Sandulescu article: "The Antisocial and Antinational Policy of the Authorities"]

[Text] After 14 months of foolish government in which they deliberately perpetuated the communist structures and kept on members of the old regime's nomenklatura in managerial positions or promoted their "heirs,"—something that contributed to the continuation of a retrograde "state of mind" in the economy—the National Salvation Front [FSN] and its government, led by Petre Roman, have brought the country to a bankrupt economic situation as seen by the scope of the worst ills that can affect an economy: inflation and unemployment.

The problem of unemployment is at the moment at least as acute and painful as that of inflation. The latter is responsible for the dramatic fall in the standard of living and recently for countless strikes. The strike of the Regional Iasi CFR [Romanian Railway] and the one in Timisoara were the most serious in view of their effects on the economy and their chances of expanding.

In our opinion, however, the unemployment that has invaded some people's homes and will soon hit others is the factor that will deal the final blow to the government, exploding the "myth" of social protection that Mr. Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman, together with their cortege of "praisers," expounded during last year's electoral campaign without any backing for their economic concept.

Unemployment existed before the revolution, too, and it particularly affected the youth. The Ceausescu regime sought to postpone the end through various subterfuges such as: going back to the 12-year school system after cutting it down to 10 years in the 1950's when the industrialization began and labor was needed; sending high school graduates to the mines of Oltenia (in 1988 alone, 16,000 children fresh out of school were sent from Bucharest), etc. Unemployment, however, affected practically all age categories and most professions. This was concealed under Ceaucescu by the fact that uneconomical personnel structures were maintained in entrprises, something that led to continuous rises in production costs, loss of competitiveness, and continuous drops in the living standard, and created a vicious circle perfectly reflected in the saying: "They pretend to pay us and we pretend to work."

After the revolution, the legitimate elimination of some utterly unprofitable investments caused unemployment to increase alarmingly. This process has been compounded by a drop in production in most economic sectors, which has been caused by lack of production discipline encouraged by the government's preelectoral demagoguery. This is also responsible for a great budget deficit as well as the so-called price liberalization; and this process is only beginning.

The only means of absorbing the manpower released in the process of restructuring enterprises, which was done to make them profitable, is to encourage private initiative and draw foreign capital.

Private initiative, however, has been discouraged by the legislation adopted, which was, in fact, inimical to the restoration of private property—and has been brutally affected by the price "liberalization" that was introduced before real privatization, and which adversely affected the small local capital put together from people's savings. Even the land stock law came far too late and showed the same weaknesses.

Moreover, the domestic economic policy, the continuation of the old structures I mentioned at the beginning, and the authorities' "vendettas" against the democratic opposition in Parliament and outside of it, have discouraged foreign investors who could have contributed substantially to creating new jobs and increasing national revenues. One telling example along this line is the fact that in 1990 the German Government put a credit of 180 million Deutsche marks at the disposal of potential German investors in Romania, but the credit was not utilized because there were no takers.

This is the solution offered by Petre Roman himself to you and to everyone else for remedying the serious social situation created by spiraling unemployment: go work abroad, like the Italians, the Yugoslavs, and the Turks did after the war. Petre Roman ought to know that the current situation is very different from what it was then, when a lot of foreign capital was pouring into rebuilding Germany, while the labor shortage was very acute after 10 million men perished in the war. On the other hand, Germany now has its own problems in employing the labor force from the former GDR. Ion Iliescu held out hope to present and future unemployed by saying that they would find work in Kuwait and Iraq. We must stress that this position on the part of Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman, whereby they attempt to find ways of mending the serious damage done to our economy by their government, is antinational. After 45 years of communist dictatorship and 14 months of FSN government, Romania is exhausted. All our forces should be engaged in rebuilding the country in the coming years, and for that we need to draw foreign capital, which does not mean selling out the country as the FSN perfidiously insinuated in the electoral campaign. On the contrary, we have the interests of the country and of society at heart. We evidently think that those who wish to leave temporarily to work abroad are entitled to do so and are free to do so. That may benefit both themselves and the country. Our future and that of our children will be decided by our work here in Romania, however, not on the shores of the Euphrates, as Ion Iliescu would have us believe.

Government, TU Discuss Price Liberalization

AU1103135391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1213 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/3/1991—On Monday morning at the Victoria Palace the joint Government-Unions Commission met in plenum. Today's meeting focuses on the consultation between the executive and all union federations on the report and proposals drafted in several variants, with the participation of all ministries concerned, regarding the application since the beginning of the second quarter of the second stage of the program of price liberalization and social protection. As mentioned, for every analyzed variant, the government had in view the establishment of money compensations contingent upon the price rise, so as to ensure the social protection of the country's whole population.

In today's meeting too, the Government-Unions Commission is to start consultations on wages and salaries in the state-budgeted units. The government is represented in the consultations by Minister Adrian Severin, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament, by other ministers and heads of departments and the unions by the leaders of the national confederations.

Nastase Receives Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister

AU1103173191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1452 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/3/1991—Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase received on Monday the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union Yuliy Kvitsinskiy who had visited Romania. Talks focussed on issues related to the further development of bilateral relations, especially in the economic field, under the new conditions of the two countries. The meeting also occasioned an exchange of views about the changes taking place in Europe in general, in a spirit of respect of the UN Charter and the CSCE principles.

In his statement to the press the guest voiced his satisfaction about the convention signed in Bucharest for the abolition of visas between the two countries, as well as about the talks he had had during his stay in Romania.

Pro-Bessarabia Group Against Consulate Location

AU0803173391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1637 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/3/1991—Concerning the verbal notes exchanged Friday, 1 March 1991, in Bucharest, between Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Embassy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, on the planned opening of a consulate-general of Romania in Chisinau [Kishinev], and of a consulate-general of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Iasi, the cultural association "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" issued a communique stating that the opening of a consulate-general of Romania in Chisinau would be a step towards officially recognizing the annexation of Bessarabia and North Bukovina by the Soviet Union.

The exchange of notes mentioned above is considered to be an attempt to make Romania's present government legally recognize the status-quo instituted on 28 June 1940 through force and diktat, reads the release.

EEC's Andriessen: Membership 'Premature'

AU1203084191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2216 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/3/1991—Mr. Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the EEC Commission, in charge with foreign relations, arrived in Bucharest Monday evening.

"I am here as the representative of the European Community Commission and as the coordinator of the actions of the 'Group of 24,' that is countries having concerted actions of assistance for the countries in this part of Europe. I have come to take stock of the situation and see how we can intensify the relationship of good cooperation between Romania and European Community and the 'Group of 24,'" stated Mr. Andriessen on his arrival on the Otopeni Airport.

In connection with the stage of the cooperation between Romania and the Common Market, the vice-president of the EEC Commission emphasised the fact that "we are cooperating, we are not in a situation that we have to start from scratch on." "I am here to see whether we can improve and intensify our cooperation," he specified.

As far as Romania's chances to become full member of the EEC are concerned, Mr. Andriessen showed that "to be a full member of the Economic Community is not a thing which you can decide or implement overnight, it is a very complicated issue and what we should do is first implement the agreements we have, look how we can intensify our cooperation, look what we can do to intensify trade volume and this kind of things between your country and the European Community and membership comes as the latest step in a process. I can't say no, but I think it's premature to discuss it at the moment."

Minister Severin Holds Talks in Netherlands

AU0903153191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1056 GMT 9 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/3/1991—A Romanian-Dutch seminar on "New Possibilities Open to Romanian-Dutch Collaboration by the Reform in Romania" took place in the Hague.

The seminar, organized by the Netherlands Council for Trade Promotion, with the assistance of the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Dutch Embassy in Bucharest and the Romanian Embassy in the Hague, was

attended by over 100 businessmen, representatives of the economic, banking and tourist circles, government and parliamentary officials.

For Romania, at the invitation of the Dutch Government, attended a delegation headed by Minister Adrian Severin, assistant to the prime minister for reform and the relation with the Parliament.

In opening the seminar, Minister Adrian Severin presented a synthesis of the principles and strategic objectives of the economic and political reform in Romania meant to irreversibly place Romania on the road to democracy and market economy.

Prior to the seminar, Minister Severin had interviews with a group of Dutch parliamentarians representing the major parties of the government coalition and other political forces, with Minister of Agriculture P. Bukmen, and with the leadership of the Netherlands Federation of the Employers.

They focussed on the salient features of the stage of implementation of the economic and political reform in Romania, with emphasis on the legislative and social activity, as well as on concrete aspects of Dutch financial and economic assistance to Romania as part of the bilateral program recently endorsed by the Dutch authorities.

A number of aspects regarding the Dutch companies' participation in building or updating industrial and agricultural units in Romania, the professional training and brush-up in management of the Romanian economic agents were also discussed.

State Secretary Pop Attends Talks

AU0903153291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1044 GMT 9 Mar 91

[Text] The Hague, ROMPRES, 9/3/1991—Napoleon Pop, secretary of state with the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism, head of the Foreign Trade Department, was guest to Geleen City, Limburgh Province, that participated as early as February 1990 in raising and sending material and financial aid to villages in Olt County-Romania.

In the interview with Geleen City Mayor R. Lurwing, emphasis was placed on the necessity to bear in mind another stage of mutually advantageous collaboration in the economic domain between the various sectors of the small and medium industry as also in agriculture, between rural localities in Limburgh Province and Romanian villages.

Also, Napoleon Pop had talks with the companies Volvo and Daf on car building, in the domain of chemistry and petrochemistry, with Intriai on telecommunications, and Stork—on meat processing. They analyzed possibilities of the respective companies' participation in capital investments in Romania, the retechnologization of some Romanian industrial sectors, consulting and assistance in environmental protection and specific imports from Romania.

Armored Vehicles Leave Republic Square

LD1003164791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Armored military vehicles left Belgrade's Republic Square as well as the space in front of the Radio Belgrade and POLITIKA buiilding at approximately 1600 today.

Police cars and a large number of security forces personnel have remained in the central city square.

Opposition Deputies: Not Responsible for Events

LD1003172791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The opposition cannot take responsibility for any consequences of yesterday's demonstration in Belgrade. On the contrary, they are the result of the authorities' unwillingness to tackle the reasons behind the fury of the demonstrators and its inability to keep the situation under control.

This is the assessment of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret obnove—SPO] deputies who have been on hunger strike in the Assembly since yesterday. Yugoslav and foreign journalists were acquainted with this assessment in the Youth Hall today.

The representatives of the opposition parties, which took part in yesterday's demonstrations, held this press conference immediately after a similar meeting between the press and the leadership of the Democratic Party.

Vuk Draskovic's wife, Danica, said that she had been told today at the Serbian Internal Affairs Ministry that her husband, who was arrested yesterday, was in the central prison center and had been "given medical help" but she was not permitted to see him.

The representatives of the opposition parties confirmed the decision of their deputies not to take part in the Assembly's work until an emergency session has been convened, and they also advocated the release of all those arrested.

Dragan Veselinov condemned the use of violence and the destruction of property and called for a legal explanation of the present situation, because, as he said, by letting tanks come out into the streets, a state of emergency has been introduced.

Nebojsa Popov said, on behalf of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [Udruzenje za Jugoslavensku Demokratsku Incijativu—UJDI], that the main aim of the demonstrations—freedom of information—is in the interest of not only the SPO but of all citizens.

The journalists were also addressed by Academician Borislav Mikhailovic-Mihiz who said that yesterday's official explanation of why the demonstrations were banned would have helped even Erasmus of Rotterdam to boost his "In Praise of Insanity."

Noting that once "one of his concerts was banned for obstructing the flow of traffic," Bora Djordjevic [popular rock singer] read out his latest verses: "No one should beat the people, that applies to yesterday."

Army Deployment Supported by Belgrade Mayor

LD1003172991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] representatives have informed us that they fully obeyed the procedure required to activate Army units. This was a matter of temporary assistance necessary because of insufficient police forces. I still do not know how much longer JNA armored vehicles and tanks will remain in the streets, but I presume they will withdraw shortly.

This was stated at a news conference in the Belgrade City Assembly today by Belgrade Mayor Milorad Unkovic, who repeatedly stressed that "it is natural that the Army should be deployed when the security of the capital city is threatened".

At the news conference, the latest details were disclosed: During yesterday's clashes in Belgrade, 88 people were injured; two of them have gunshot wounds, while six were hospitalized.

Yesteray, Serbia was fought for and defended, but without the effective action of the state, the number of casualties would have been much higher, Unkovic said. The Belgrade Assembly will insist on a reexamination of the law on parties to prevent the actions of those parties that aim at destroying the state. We shall call for all initiators of yesterday's fratricide to be punished, the Belgrade mayor stressed.

Unkovic stressed that at Unsce [large park situated at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube], all possible conditions exist for a successful organization of political meetings, and that future meetings will be held only there.

Asked whether he paid a visit to the family of 17-year-old Branivoje Milinovic, because he visited the family of killed policeman Nedeljko Kosovican, Unkovic replied that he had been given an incorrect address for the youth in Kraljevo. We will find a way to express our condolences to his immediate family, the Belgrade mayor said.

It was also stated that the city communal organizations suffered approximately 6 million dinars worth of damage.

Novi Sad Rally Supports Intervention

LD1003175291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbia is sad and ashamed today, this is the main message of a rally in support of the republican government organized in Novi Sad by its branch of the Socialist Party of Serbia.

Those who addressed the several thousand people gathered outside the sports and business center of Vojvodina spoke in favor of peace, democracy, work, and a united Serbia and Yugosalvia. Yesterday's actions in Belgrade by the leaders of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] and some other opposition parties are regarded as a stab in Serbia's back, while Vuk Draskovic was likened to Vuk Brankovic [Serbia's archetypal traitor].

The rally stressed that all means should be used in "foiling the national-socialist forces that are attempting to carry out their individual ambitions through terror and irresponsible, undemocratic, and unpatriotic actions." The Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Croatian Democratic Community, the DEMOS Coalition, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [Unutrasnja Makedonska Revolucionarna Organizacija—VMRO] and Kosovo's alternative movements were also included in this same group of those who are destroying Yugoslavia.

It was also demanded that the SFRY Presidency stop releasing its futile statements and that federal multiparty elections be called as soon as possible. The nations in Yugoslavia are so interwoven that no internal borders could be drawn up, so the only alternative is a common state, the rally concluded.

A small group of SPO supporters attempted to obstruct the rally but the police's quick intervention prevented them from carrying out their intentions. Several individuals were detained and the doctor on duty, Sinisa Sarovolc, informed us that only one person was slightly injured in the demonstration.

University Students Threaten General Strike

LD1003204591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—More than 1,000 students gathered today to protest against the use of force against Belgrade demonstrators. The meeting, convened by the Executive Committee of the Alliance of Students of the Students Campus, was first addressed by Chairman of the Alliance of Belgrade Students Aleksandar Nikacevic. [passage omitted]

The president and other top Serbian officials were heavily criticized. The students called on Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic and Assembly President Unkovic to come to the students campus. They also called for Slobodan Unkovic's resignation as Belgrade University Vice Chancellor.

The arrival of Slobodan Unkovic to the Students Campus a little after 1730 was met by boos. The Serbian Assembly president stressed that he would do everything within his power to find out who is responsible for the events that took place in Belgrade, saying "yesterday was the most shameful day ever."

Unkovic said that as early as tomorrow he would convene an extraordinary session of the National Assembly at the first available moment.

He stressed that he would call on the legislature to establish blame "for the Serbian people and all of us." The Serbian Assembly president added that he feels responsible for all that happened, as responsible as all other 250 deputies. He called on the students not to go to the Serbian Assembly this evening.

The students informed him of their demands (his resignation as Belgrade University vice chancellor was not repeated). They emphasized that if their demands are not met, a general strike will be organized at Belgrade University, and all students' organizations throughout Europe will be informed. The students expect Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic to address them this evening.

2,000 Students Move Toward Belgrade TV

LD1003220491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Approximately 2,000 students set off around 2230 this evening from the student campus toward the center of Belgrade. Their intention is to hold a rally in front of the Belgrade Television building.

The students are calling for their previous demands to be met: the resignation of Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic, the release of all those arrested during demonstrations yesterday, and the replacement of the Belgrade Television leadership.

Strong police forces have yet to intervene.

'Strong Police Forces' Halt March

LD1003231791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2252 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The column of approximately 2,000 students who at 2230 set off from Students Campus toward the city center and toward Belgrade Television building was stopped on the new Sava Bridge. Strong police forces are preventing the students from entering Brankova Street leading toward the city center. [passage omitted]

Citizens Prevented From Joining March

LD1003232191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2308 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Several hundred Belgrade citizens gathered shortly before mignight at the Old Belgrade Bank, off the Sava Bridge, in an attempt to join the students on the other side of the bridge. Heavy police forces dispersed the people gathered there by using rubber batons.

At the same time, several more groups of citizens are trying to join the students. [passage omitted]

Students Remain on Bridge Despite Police Force

LD1103000291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2334 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Police and students clashed about midnight on the Branko bridge across the Sava river, between the old and new parts of Belgrade. The police intervened using tear gas and rubber batons and managed to split the column of students into two groups, the smaller one crossed the bridge and set off toward the city center.

Negotiations were held at the Sava bridge between representatives of the students, the police, and the Serbian government. Belgrade University Prorector Rajko Vracar and Vice Chairman of the Students' Alliance Zeljko Bjelajac negotiated on behalf of the students, while the Serbian government was represented by its Vice President Velimir Radivojevic. Vracar pointed out that these were peaceful demonstrations and that the students wanted their demands to be discussed.

Serbian Vice President Velimir Radivojevic repeated the government's stance that public meetings should be held at the estuary of Sava in New Belgrade and that Belgrade Television's leadership could not be dismissed in this way. He also promised that talks will be organized with [Serbian] Government President Dragutin Zelenovic.

Most of the students are still on the bridge, in spite of the police intervention.

Police Lift Blockade on Sava Bridge

LD1103011991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0048 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—At about 0130 the police allowed the column of students to move away from the Sava bridge, where they had been blockaded since 2300 yesterday.

The students set off toward Students' Square, where the administration center of Belgrade University and the city center are situated. A large number of Belgrade citizens joined the students.

'Several Thousand' Rally Outside Belgrade Hotel

LD1103011891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0019 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Several thousand citizens and students gathered at about 0100 in Terazije and outside the Moskva Hotel. For the time being there have been no incidents. The people gathered there were addressed by the chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic Party, and deputy to the People's Assembly of Serbia, Zoran Djindjic.

According to TANJUG's reporters, Zoran Djindjic then set off toward the Sava bridge, at the end of Branko Street, to talk with the police, and demand that they allow the students who are stuck on the bridge to proceed toward the city center. [passage omitted]

Students Remain in City Center Overnight

AU1103084091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] About 10,000 students, who were allowed to pass into the center of the city at about 0130 after the three-hour blockade of the bridge at Brankova Street, rallied around the Terazije fountain. The students from the New Belgrade student campus were joined by students from other student dormitories.

While they were standing at the Terazije fountain, they were addressed by the Democratic Party leaders and Belgrade cultural and public workers. The students are demanding the release of all participants in the demonstrations of two days ago who were arrested, that Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic resign, that responsibility for the victims of the demonstrations of the day before yesterday be established, and that five Belgrade Television officials be replaced.

As TANJUG reports, somewhat before 0300 this morning, a students delegation headed by Dr. Zoran Djindjic set off toward the Serbian Assembly. It was agreed that the students rallied at Terazije should remain there and wait for the outcome of the delegation's visit to the Serbian Assembly.

Artists, Poets Address Students

AU1103092391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Ruzica Zorkic report]

[Text] Shortly before 0900 students who had gathered at the Terazije plateau were addressed from the Terazije fountain by Belgrade actors Branislav Lekic and Tihomir Arsic, who said that no cultural program and no theater performance or concert will be held until students' demands are met. Poet Adam Puslojic then addressed the students and citizens gathered and welcomed the students' decision to fight for their demands in a peaceful way.

Students then called on the Belgrade people to organize a discussion forum there, where writers, academicians, artists, all those people who want to fight for the freedom of public expression will speak.

In the meantime, the number of rallied citizens has increased.

The Serbian Assembly and government will hold extraordinary sessions in the afternoon. They will discuss students' demands. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic should receive a student delegation during the day, according to Dragoljub Micunovic, Assembly deputy and president of the Democratic Party.

Report on Situation in Belgrade Updated

LD1103094891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0825 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—After the student demonstrations held in Belgrade last night, only a hundred or so student demonstrators still remain in the central Terazije Square, outside the Hotel Moscow.

The traffic in that part of the city was normalized somewhat after 06:30 hours local time today.

Strong police forces have been withdrawn from Terazije Square.

After a meeting held at the complex of dormitories in New Belgrade, several thousand students headed for the centre of the city at around 22:30 hours local time yesterday.

The students demanded the resignations of Republic of Serbia Interior Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic and Belgrade television chiefs, the lifting of the censorship imposed on the youth radio Station 92 and the independent TV station Studio B, and the release of all demonstrators and opposition party leaders arrested on March 9.

The student demonstrators were stopped by strong police forces when they tried to cross the bridge across the Sava, which connects new Belgrade with the old part of the city.

After brief clashes, in which the police used tear gas, a part of the demonstrators managed to make their way to the centre of the city.

The remaining students, who were in the meantime joined by many Belgrade residents, were later permitted to pass, so that between 5,000 and 6,000 people gathered in Terazije Square in the end.

The demonstrators were addressed, among others, by Democratic party deputies Zoran Djindjic and Dragoljub Micunovic.

A delegation of demonstrators which was sent to the Assembly of Serbia informed the crowd at Terazije Square on coming back that a special session of the Serbian Government and parliament would be held at 17:00 hours local time today. It was also announced that a student delegation would be received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today.

Student Demonstration Increasing in Size

LD1103102491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0932 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 March (TANJUG)—Several hundred students gathered in the little square outside the Moskva Hotel in Belgrade are constantly increasing in number as their colleagues continue to join them. They have also released a statement saying their delegation submitted its demands to the Serbian Assembly this morning.

The students are demanding that Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic tender his irrevocable resignation; that the measures of repression and the unconstitutionally introduced state of emergency be lifted; that Mitevic, Sestakov, Vitas, Krivec, and Budihna [Belgrade television editors] resign immediately; that the Studio-B television channel and the youth radio station B 92 be allowed to operate unhindered; that an emergency session of the Serbian Assembly be convened; and that all those arrested on 9 March be released.

They are set to call a boycott of classes until their demands are met. They also wait for [Belgrade University Prorector] Slobodan Unkovic to appear and, as student Zarko Jokanovic said, to confirm that "no one is allowed to beat us up during these demonstrations." In his address to the rally through a public address system, Jilanovic also stressed that this was entirely a students rally rather than a party one.

Jakanovic also said that this morning their demand for a rally had been denied because they had no permission for it. He replied to this by saying that they had had no permission either when they assembled in support of Kosovo and Knin. [passage omitted]

Studio-B Resumes Regular Broadcasts

LD1103133291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Independent Television Studio-B and its affiliated radio station are today resuming regular broadcasting. This was announced today by Studio-B's director and chief executive editor, Dragan Kojadinovic, who added that charges have been brought against him, which he said are in terms of his "offering resistance and calling for the violation of decisions adopted in keeping with the law." In essence, Studio-B is accused of having called on citizens on 9 March to gather at a place that is not designated for the holding of protest meetings. We resolutely reject such accusations, Kojadinovic said.

He added that Studio-B would bring charges against the Serbian Internal Affairs Ministry because of "its hampering the carrying out of a basic function and damage caused, not only material damage, but also (damage) to the professional reputation of this establishment."

At Belgrade Radio B-92, Zeljko Draskovic, director of publicity, stresses that on Saturday 9 March at 1930 the police, without any kind of written document, suspended the broadcasts of this station. Yesterday at 2030, however, this station resumed normal working, Draskovic says.

Independent Journalists Protest Belgrade Deaths

LD1103134491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1209 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the independent journalists' unions today deeply deplored the loss of two lives in the Belgrade demonstrations on Saturday, demonstrations "scheduled because of the demands for the dismissal of Belgrade television bosses."

Fifty or so representatives of the independent journalists' unions of the most influential media based in Belgrade held a meeting today, after which they released a statement expressing indignation at the fact that "the dishonourable performance of the duties of the profession of journalism led to bloodshed."

The statement says that "most of the newspapers and radio and television stations in Belgrade are controlled by police forces," and demands that criminal charges be raised against all who took part in the decision on the imposition of censorship. The statement, released by the independent journalists' unions says that newsmen were prevented from doing their job during the demonstrations, that some of them were apprehended and some even beaten.

Novi Sad Students Support Belgrade Students

LD1103142191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Over 2,000 students at Novi Sad University today held a protest meeting in Students Square in Novi Sad to give their unreserved support to the demands of their colleagues at Belgrade University. The demand was made at the meeting that all students who were arrested at yesterday's protest meeting in Novi Sad, organized by the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije], be released. The protest meeting in Students Square lasted about 20 minutes, after which a large group dispersed while a smaller group set off toward the center of Novi Sad.

Nis Student Federation Condemns Force

LD1103202191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Nis, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—We extend our full support to students at Belgrade University. We condemn the use of force against the students and insist on objective and prompt media reporting and on a peaceful and democratic solution to the present situation—the Nis-based university committee of the student federation says in a telegram sent to all university centers in the republic and to the leading authorities of the republic.

Montenegrin Students Support Colleagues

LD1103204191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Titograd, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Today at an emergency assembly, students of Titograd University voiced sharp protests at the use of repressive measures against their Belgrade colleagues, condemned the use of force on the streets of the Yugoslav capital, and, at the same time, called for the peaceful resolution of all problems.

The Presidium of the Montegrin Board of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia and the Executive Board of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative today supported the demand by the united Serbian opposition for freedom of information. That the opposition demands were justified is best seen by Belgrade Television news following demonstrations that were full of lies, the most glaring one being that the constitutional order, that is, the current government, was threatened in Belgrade, a joint statement by these two parties stresses.

Independent Journalists Support Students

LD1103204491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Belgrade students' demands were today supported by the coordination committee of the Independent Trade Union of Belgrade Radio and Television, TANJUG, POLITIKA, BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and the Committee for the Protection of Free Speech

A meeting in the Belgrade Youth Hall was attended by approximately 100 journalists and intellectuals. A message to students was read out at a meeting under way in Terazije.

Journalists called on all their colleagues to respect the code of their profession and to refuse to take part in spreading lies and misinformation.

Journalists and the Committee for the Protection of Free Speech demand that the public be freely and objectively informed, and that the pressure and censorship on Studio-B and Radio B-92 cease.

In addition to their support for the students' demands for the replacement of the Belgrade Television leadership, they reiterated demands for the replacement of POLITIKA leadership and for the creation of conditions for objective information of the public.

Mention was made at the meeting that repression over Belgrade Radio and Television journalists was continuing and that press passes were being confiscated from members of the Independent Trade Union, although they are well-known journalists. They are prevented from entering the radio and television building and are practically being fired.

Belgrade Radio Sets 'Precedent' in Usce Meeting

AU1103160291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The collegium of directors and chief editors of Belgrade Radio have decided that, as in all cases when the president of the Republic speaks at meetings that are of wider significance, Belgrade Radio will relay live today's meeting at the Usce section of Belgrade. The collegium based its decision on the news that the president of the Republic will speak. Because objective circumstances have prevented the president of the Republic from speaking, by relaying the meeting live, Belgrade Radio has set a precedent in its present editorial practice.

Belgrade Radio employees will endeavor in their programs to objectively and without party bias follow the events in Belgrade, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

Official Denies Resignations; Assembly To Decide

LD1103210291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2038 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Neither Belgrade Radio and Television Director General Dusan Mitevic nor the four editors have resigned, Belgrade Television Director Sergej Sestakov told TANJUG this evening.

The Serbian Assembly is known to have already received a report on the work of Belgrade Radio and Television. An assembly debate on the report is expected to result in an assessment of the Belgrade Television top management. A Belgrade Television spokesman stated that it is within the authority of the republic's legislature, as the organization's founder, to decide on the fate of the five officials.

Government Reports All Foreign Missions Safe

LD1103210691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—During last Saturday's demonstrations in Belgrade, protesters smashed a number of windows on the ground floor of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat and one window on the Embassy of Turkey, the Yugoslav Government's Information Secretariat has been informed.

In connection with this, the Federal Interior Secretariat has announced that the premises of all diplomatic and consular missions and foreign commercial offices in Belgrade , as well as all federal institutions, are protected and guaranteed complete security.

Nis Students End Protest; Promise Hunger Strike

LD1103213591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Nis, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Peaceful demonstrations of Nis University students have ended this evening. At the demonstrations, students reiterated their resolve not to waver from their demands, which are identical with those presented by Belgrade students.

Following the demonstrations, Nis students returned to the faculty of engineering, where they will wait for the outcome of the emergency session of the Serbian People's Assembly, which should make a decision about their demands.

Nis students are promising a hunger strike if their demands are not met.

At the peaceful demonstrations of some 2,000 students, the dean of the faculty of electronics, Ninoslav Stojadinovic, gave his support to the students. Afterwards, a member of the presidium of the students' council of this faculty, Svetlana Savic, read out the student demands.

Actors of the Nis National Theater joined in the student demonstrations. As a sign of support with Belgrade actors, they decided that there will be no performance in the Nis National Theater until further notice.

Four Republics Likely To Boycott Session

LD1103215291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Janez Drnovsek, a member of the SFRY Presidency, held consultations today with representatives of other republics in the SFRY Presidency. On the basis of these talks, he presented [SFRY Presidency] President Jovic with the view of the majority of the SFRY Presidency members that an expanded Presidency session scheduled for tomorrow should either be postponed for seven days or held in Ljubljana or Zagreb. President Jovic rejected the proposal and demanded in ultimatum-like fashion that the proposed session be held tomorrow. It may be concluded that representatives of the four republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Slovenia will not go to Belgrade tomorrow.

Thousands of Students Await Assembly Decisions

LD1103223591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2157 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The Belgrade students are still on the central Belgrade street of Terazije waiting to see what the Serbian Assembly session will decide about their demands, which were put on the session's agenda. During the course of the evening the number of students decreased to several thousand.

The volume of the public address system is turned up. Tomorrow's edition of BORBA, which is sold out as soon as it is brought to Terazije, is topping "the charts" here.

From time to time the students listened to the live relay of the Serbian Assembly session. The session proceedings cannot, however, be heard clearly. Only judging by the reaction of those nearest to the loudspeakers can it be known who is speaking.

Among the most frequent slogans are calls for Belgrade Radio and Television editors to resign and for Draskovic to be released.

The students received with great enthusiasm the news that several work organizations sent their support.

Serbian Socialist Party Supports Authorities

AU1003202891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Jelena Hinic report]

[Text] Yesterday's [9 March] destructive demonstrations in Belgrade have been condemned at meetings of the Socialist Party of Serbia throughout Serbia—in Svilajnac, Paracin, Priboj, Sabac, Novi Sad, Prijepolje, Kikinda, Aleksandrovac, Cacak, Zajecar, Loznica, Aleksinac, and other towns.

[Hinic] It was said at the protest meeting in Kragujevac that the crisis in the country must be overcome through the work of legitimate bodies and on the basis of the Constitution. At the meeting in Kikinda, as well as at the meetings held in all the aforementioned towns, yesterday's demonstrations were called a vandalistic attack against peace and democracy, and those who incited it must be brought to justice. In [word indistinct] of the vandalism of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, demands were made for the arrest of Vuk Draskovic, and the dissolution of all parties whose supporters participated in the demonstrations. Full support was extended to the policy of Serbia and to Slobodan Milosevic.

Yesterday's unrest in Belgrade upset the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo and Metohija. Meetings were held in many towns in the province at which demonstrations were condemned.

Radovan Karadzic made a statement about yesterday's events in Belgrade at the founding assembly of the Serbian Democratic Party in Dubrovnik. He said that political and democratic life can be led only through democratic means, but Serb children must not turn against the Serbian people and against the Serbian state. Telegrams of support to the legitimate authorities of Serbia have been sent from this meting, as well as from many others held today in which the prevention of destructive behavior of irresponsible individuals and organizations was demanded.

Socialist Demonstration Draws 100,000

LD1103132791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—A protest meeting under the slogan "For the Defense of the Republic," organized by the Socialist Party of Serbia began at the Usce in Novi Beograd at 1330 with the Yugoslav anthem "Hej Sloveni". The organizers say more than 100,000 citizens of Belgrade and other parts of Serbia are attending.

The first speaker was Serbian Assembly deputy and Minister of Industry Dusan Matkovic, who stressed that those forces that want to destroy things will not win.

Serbian Assembly To Assess Events, Reporting

LD1003215191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2011 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—Serbia does not have an emergency state. It was acting in accordance with the constitution. The Yugoslav People's Army has been asked to participate in calming the demonstrations and preventing a clash between the demonstrators and citizens who wished to opose them, something the Army can undertake without orders from anyone.

This was set out on Sunday evening by Serbian Prime Minister Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic in a talk with journalists devoted to the demonstrations on Saturday in which two people died and 88 others were injured in clashes between police and the demonstrators.

Serbian Assembly Vice President Borivoje Petrovic indicated that the Republican Assembly would in two-three days examine all the aspect of the past events and issue its assessment on it. After that, at a new session, the Republican Assembly would discuss the Belgrade Radio-Television and its leadership.

The Serbian opposition has staged demonstrations against biased reporting of Belgrade Television, which, in the view of the opposition, favored the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia.

Serbian Officials on 'Foreign Factor' in Protests

AU1103104591 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report]

[Text] The Serbian government held a news conference at which assessments and comments were made on yesterday's demonstrations in the center of Belgrade. Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic said that what was involved was a violent move that resulted in unnecessary victims, considerable material damage, and the marred reputation of the Serbian people, Belgrade, and Serbia. Zelenovic accused the organizers of the demonstrations of having been connected with foreign factors. He said that the demonstrators, in conjunction with foreign forces, chose the Romanian method of solving problems. He pointed out that Serbia will protect peace in the republic with all available means. Serbian Vice President Velimir Radivojevic, ministers Radmilo Bogdanovic, Dusko Matkovic, and Predrag Todorovic, as well as Serbian Assembly Vice President Borivoje Petrovic also spoke at the news conference.

[Jerotijevic] The worst thing of all is that the organizers of yesterday's demonstrations, connected with foreign factors, have chosen the Romanian way of solving problems, Dragutin Zelenovic said. He recalled the well-known fact that Yugoslavia and every single one of its republics are constant subjects of intensive observance by the foreign factor, sometimes within permissible limits, sometimes outside them.

Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic presented facts about the role of the peace and order authorities in the demonstrations and about the use of firearms in particular.

[Begin Bogdanovic recording] No order to use firearms has been issued. Whether firearms were used, which side used them, and how injuries were caused with firearms will be established in a more detailed investigation. Therefore, the order to use firearms—and I can give such an order—has not been given. If a member of the service authorized to carry and use firearms finds himself in a situation in which he cannot fend off an attack against himself or [words indistinct] he can use a firearm without any order because he is authorized to do so. Whether firearms were used, how these injuries were caused, how those two young men—the service member and the young man—were killed, will be shown by a detailed investigation, which we have started. [end recording]

Asked to comment on stories about arrests carried out throughout Serbia, Bogdanovic stated that these are ordinary rumors. About 180 citizens were brought to police stations because of the attack against official persons or against property, but the majority of them were then allowed to go home. Bogdanovic also said that Vuk Draskovic has been detained, that criminal charges have been filed against him, and that he will be detained for three days after which he will have to submit to further proceedings with the investigating judge. This was based on the fact that in addressing the participants of the demonstrations Draskovic called for a stormy attack and blood.

After assessing that the Internal Affairs Service failed to prevent the demonstrations and that it failed to protect lives and property, a correspondent of Croatian Radio asked whether Bogdanovic is considering tendering his resignation.

[Begin Bogdanovic recording] I am not considering that until both the government and the Assembly make an overall assessment of the events and of the way the Internal Affairs Ministry participated and performed its duties on these [word indistinct]. [end recording]

Replying to journalists questions concerning the Army's participation in yesterday's demonstrations, Zelenovic said that there is no state of emergency in Serbia. The Army was asked to prevent a possible clash between the demonstrators and the citizens who wanted to protect order. Zelenovic said that the Army had already been withdrawn from Belgrade streets.

Predrag Todorovic spoke about the legal aspects of yesterday's demonstrations and Dusko Matkovic spoke about its economic aspects. According to Matkovic, the greatest damage has been done by the spreading of doubt about Serbia's ability to have economic cooperation with the world.

Petrovic said that the scenario of the demonstrations was not made in our country, but that more precise data about this will be included in an analysis that is being prepared for the next Assembly session.

Serbian Deputies Continue Hunger Strike

LD1103120591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Further to the announced session of the People's Assembly of Serbia and its endorsed agenda, in the framework of which "the Government Report on the Destructive Demonstrations organized by the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] is to be discussed" - the deputies who have been on hunger strike for the third day running released a statement today to point out that they would not accept the proposed agenda.

The deputies are demanding that the agenda include the demands adopted by the students last night - which are otherwise identical to the demands of the group of deputies - and that the live radio and television broadcast of the session is ensured. Otherwise, it is stated, the group of deputies will continue their hunger strike. The proposed agenda is regarded as "a verdict before the trial to ban the SPO's work."

In its special statement the group of deputies demands that the decision of the competent authorities "to temporarily ban the Studio B Television channel be recalled and this Television studio facilitate the broadcast of its program. "The confiscation of the Studio-B's tapes, a crucial item of evidence before the court, suggests that

the tapes will be put to some other use", the statement of the group of deputies cautions.

Serbian Daily Refers to 'Rampage of Hooligans'

LD11031331 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0936 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Violence, destruction and vandalism are the words which the Belgrade daily POLITIKA uses today to describe the demonstrations and unrest in Belgrade on Saturday.

The daily underscores that, although it was announced that the demonstrations would be peaceful, they turned into a "rampage of hooligans." It says that "those who were defeated in the elections wanted to cause chaos."

POLITIKA assesses that the dismissal of five Belgrade television chiefs, cited as the chief demand of the demonstrators, was used only as a pretext. "The actual goal was the toppling of democracy and the popularly elected Serbian leadership," POLITIKA says.

The opposition Serbian Renewal Movement, which was the chief organizer of the Saturday demonstrations, is accused by POLITIKA of "treason against the Serbian people."

The daily says that Serbian Renewal Movement leader Vuk Draskovic "tried to accomplish what Tudjman and Rugova had announced."

POLITIKA says that Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, and Ibrahimi Rugova, leader of the ethnic-Albanian Democratic Union of Kosovo, are "in collusion with external and domestic enemies of Serbia."

The daily POLITIKA qualifies the Serbian Renewal Movement as "a militant party which has dangerous intentions," and a "puppet group which has the illusion that it is in charge of a movement, while it has in actual fact been caught in the web of a foreign scenario."

Accusing the largest opposition party in Serbia of "joining hands with (ethnic) Albamian secessionists" in Serbia's province of Kosovo and of "endangering peace," POLITIKA says that the Serbian leadership must defend the interests of its people.

"There will be no chaos and violence in Serbia," the Belgrade daily underscores.

Serbian Renaissance Discourages Demonstrations

LD1103141691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The presidium of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] in an extended session today adopted a decision obliging the chairmen of district, municipal and local committees of the party to exert influence, through their rational and wise behavior, on the membership to calm the situation.

The SPO presidium statement says that there is no need for members of the party to come to Belgrade to demonstrate their dissatisfaction because, it is stressed, the SPO is a party of St. Sava orientations and violence is not a means for resolving any problem.

Belgrade University Faculty Supports Students

LD1103150191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—As an institution in keeping with its democratic and freedom-loving traditions, Belgrade's university is expressing its deep disagreement with violence regardless of who uses it and its aims.

This is stressed in a statement by the school's board of governors, made a short while ago at an emergency session. They agreed that student-rector Milorad Vukobratovic should report to the students gathered at Terazije Square on the contents of the statement.

The board of governors expresses its understanding of the students' revolt over the events of 9 March in Belgrade, and this is why, it announced, it is supporting the justifiable demands of the students, while advocating:

- that all measures of repression should be recalled and that all individuals in authority should make maximum efforts to create conditions for a peaceful life by citizens and the continuation of the current democratic process;

- that free and unfettered circulation of information be ensured and that all media, particularly Belgrade Television, should fully and in a timely fashion inform the citizens;

- that any monopoly over the media be dismantled and that Studio-B and Radio B-92 be allowed to operate regularly;

- that the scheduled government session and the emergency session of the Serbian People's Assembly be held and that they should be allowed to work normally so they can consider the students' demands in a democratic atmosphere, and that this session should be broadcast live;

- that the responsibility of all the perpetrators of the bloodshed on the streets of Belgrade be examined, as well as that of those who gave them the orders, and of the perpetrators of the vandalistic attacks on property and buildings, and that adequate measures are taken against those who are responsible for these;

- that the responsibility of all the top managers of Belgrade television for usurping the media be examined;

The board of governors maintains it is the students' right to express their discontent by boycotting classes until

their demands have been taken into account and that the problems created can be settled by the measures already implemented.

Belgrade University lecturers will continue on this occasion to stand side by side with their students, as they always do, it is stressed at the end of the statement read out by the prorector, Professor Rajko Vracar, acting on behalf of the rector, at the emergency session. Only one vote was cast against the adoption of the statement.

Novi Sad Students Demand Bozovic's Resignation

AU1103162891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] After a meeting in the students' part of town and on Freedom Square, about 1,000 students of Novi Sad university moved half an hour ago to outside the building of the Executive Council of Vojvodina.

Apart from (?stressing) support for the demands of their colleagues in Belgrade, they demanded the resignation of Vojvodina Executive Council President Radoman Bozovic; Branko Balj, general director of Radio Television Novi Sad; Dusanka Radmilovic, Radio Novi Sad editor; and Milos Ignjatovic, director of the Novi Sad newspaper DNEVNIK. The students stress that if these demands are not met they will boycott lectures.

Milosevic Meets Students; Will Review Demands

LD1103185891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic promised a delegation of students he received at noon today that all their demands would be reviewed.

Member of the student delegation Aleksandar Nikacevic told Belgrade radio today that Milosevic had appealed that this should be done in institutions provided by the Constitution.

Milosevic recalled that an emergency session of the republican parliament was scheduled for 18:00 local time today.

It has been announced that the session will be broadcast live on television.

The students, who have been demonstrating peacefully in Belgrade since yesterday, are demanding the resignations of the republican interior minister and the director and several other top figures in Belgrade television, which, they say, is highly biased towards the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia in its reporting, and that the responsibility for the deaths and injuries suffered in Saturday's demonstrations be established.

Two persons were killed and over one hundred injured in clashes in Belgrade between Serbian opposition demonstrators and republican police on March 9.

Serbian State of Emergency Draft Adopted

LD1103190591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—The legislative committee of the legislature of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Monday adopted a draft law on the state of emergency, submitted to the legislature earlier this month.

Under the draft, the president of the republic can proclaim a state of emergency on the government's advice when "the security of the republic, the freedom and rights of the citizens or the work of state organs" are endangered in any part of the Republic of Serbia.

Besides, the draft envisages that the republican legislature can prescribe the ways of implementing individual freedoms and rights of citizens" under the state of emergency conditions.

The draft, prepared by the Serbian Government, was put into regular legislative procedure earlier this month, before the latest events in the republic.

The procedure provides for legislative debate on the draft at the next regular session in mid-March.

Two people were killed and over one hundred injured in clashes between the republican police and opposition demonstators here on Saturday.

Serbian Opposition Demands New Assembly Agenda

LD1103195391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with the proposed agenda of today's session of the Serbian People's Assembly, the leaders of the deputies' club of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] and the Democratic Party [DS], Slobodan Rakitic and Dragoljub Micunovic, handed over to Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic a demand for a changed agenda.

Instead of the announced report on the destructive demonstrations in Belgrade, organized on 9 March by the SPO, they propose the following two topics be put on the agenda: 1. a discussion about the circumstances surrounding the tragic events on 9 March and the setting up of a multiparty Assembly commission; 2. demands presented by Belgrade University students.

If this is not allowed, there is a possibility that SPO and DS deputies will walk out of the session of the Serbian Assembly, the Information Service of the DS deputies' club announced today.

Usce 'Counter-Meeting' Ends Peacefully

LD1103195991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Students and citizens of Belgrade gathered this morning in the central city square, in Terazije. They called for the replacement of the Belgrade television leadership, and for the placing of responsibility for demonstrations on Saturday. Meanwhile, supporters of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the republican government gathered at Usce, in New Belgrade. [passage omitted]

The Socialist Party of Serbia meeting was a counter-meeting of support for the Serbian government. It was attended, according to an official statement issued by the organizers, by 350,000 people, while according to unofficial estimates—tens of thousands of people. Those who addressed the meeting, including Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic, sharply criticized Saturday's demonstrations and its organizors. At the end of the meeting, Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Dusan Matkovic called on those attending the meeting not to disperse before the students meeting in the city center dispersed. The meeting ended peacefully. [passage omitted]

Today's rallies passed without incident, and the united opposition called for a meeting for 1500 tomorrow in Usce, under the banner "The Meeting of Free Citizens."

Serbian Officials See Destabilization Strategy

LD1103200591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Demonstrations organized by the Serbian Renaissance Movement in Belgrade on 9 March represent an open and direct attack on the constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia and its legally elected bodies. They caused political, moral, and material damage, and considerably damaged the reputation of the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people in Yugoslavia and abroad.

These are the basic conclusions of the Serbian government, which presented its stands on these events to a session of the [Serbian] National Assembly today.

Recalling that the leadership of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, despite a decision banning a public meeting of the party in Republic Square and in Takovska Street, organized and led aggressive and destructive demonstrations, the Serbian government presented in its report to the assembly an explanation on the developments of 9 March. Following Draskovic's call in the morning, around 40 buses and more private cars carrying Serbian Renaissance Movement supporters from many places throughout Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Metchija set off toward Belgrade. Quantities of various weapons were found on several people in the demonstrations.

The moves of the demonstrators were commanded, the report goes on to say, from the secretariat of the Serbian Renaissance Movement situated in George Washington Street [in the center of Belgrade]. Some of the party's aggressive supporters attacked the police, and police brigade deputy commander Sreten Jecmenica was injured. All the time Vuk Draskovic called on the demonstrators to launch further attacks, and because of that the police used teargas, water-cannons and other means to disperse them. This was followed by unprecedented vandalism in the streets of Belgrade, which caused enormous material damage. Public peace and order on the territory of the city were only reestablished around 2100, thanks to measures carried out by police, who were assisted by armored units of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The demonstrations outcome, according to a report of the Serbian government, is the death of one policeman and one demonstrator, 62 wounded, and 153 arrested demonstrators against whom legal measures are being undertaken. Among the arrested are Serbian Renaissance Movement leader Vuk Draskovic and Vice Chairman Jovan Marjanovic.

Concluding that these events are viewed with repugnance by all progressive forces, especially of the Serbian people outside Serbia, in its report to the assembly the republican government stressed that the [Serbian] Ministry of Internal Affairs has prepared and carried out on time a plan of action for preventing a destructive march of militant members of the Serbian Renaissance Movement and other opposition parties with whom Albanian secessionists have expressed solidarity. The conduct of the movement's leaders and individual opposition parties is part of a preconceived strategy of forces behind attempts to destabilize the Serbian Republic, the report of the republican government to the Serbian Assembly about the Belgrade demonstrations stresses.

Milosevic Addresses Special Assembly Session

AU1103183691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the extraordinary session of the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade on 11 March—live]

[Text] Serbia and the Serbian people are confronted with one of the worst evils in their history—the provocation of disunity and mutual conflicts. This evil—which has so many times in the past caused damage and suffering to our people as well as weakening their strength and breaking their unity—benefited only those people who wanted to take our freedom and dignity away from us, to subjugate us and subordinate us to their interests.

Our grave historical experience and the warnings we are carrying from the past are important both for the Serbian people and for the citizens of Serbia, because sowing discord among our people has always been and has remained the easiest way to attack the values that the

Serbian people have always held as holy: Their freedom and independence and the peaceful, honest, and dignified life of every one of their members. Everybody who holds Serbia dear, its citizens, and the Serbian people in general, as well as the values that are most important to every person, should not ignore these facts. He should not do so particularly in a time when we are trying to stop the resurgent fascist-like Ustasha forces, Albanian secessionists, as well as all other forces of the anti-Serbian coalition that are endangering people's freedom and rights.

After many years, the Republic of Serbia has managed to realize its constitutional and legal unity and to get out of the shameful position in which it had been over many decades because it was broken up and disunited. With the new Constitution, and through free multiparty elections, we secured in our republic the basic conditions for modern democratic development and for quicker economic and cultural progress.

Therefore now, after we adopted the Constitution and carried out multiparty elections, all political parties must understand that after the multiparty elections they must present their views through their representatives in the Assembly and not outside it, as the practice was under the conditions of the single-party system.

The parties that do not have a representative in the Assembly cannot now change the election results in the street, nor usurp the powers of the Assembly and make decisions that only the Assembly has been authorized to do, and in this way push the Assembly into the position of being a body that ratifies decisions made someplace else. In that, instead of the law governed state and the democratic political order we would have anarchy and terror. This would, first of all, be a disaster for the Republic of Serbia as a democratic state, and also for many of its citizens under the conditions of general chaos and lawlessness.

The political parties that remained in the minority in the legislature, as well as those that are not represented in it at all, have a wide range of constitutional opportunities to exert influence in a legal way on the legislative majority and criticize the government. Within the constitutionally determined term of office they must respect the powers and decisions of the authorities to whom the majority of citizens have extended support to perform these duties and make these decisions.

The priorities that Serbia is facing today are the economic reform and the resulting social issues, cultural development, and the position of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia. The most important condition for starting to resolve these problems is peace and trust in the democratic institutions of Serbia. Therefore, there are no citizens in Serbia, nor among the Serbs outside Serbia, who can find their interests in destroying peace and democratic institutions in Serbia.

Something like this can only be the aim of the enemies of Serbia. To divide from within and make the citizens of Serbia and the Serbian people quarrel among themselves. To make the Serbian people preoccupied with themselves and engage in quarrels instead of carrying out reforms and achieving prosperity. To destroy Serbia as a unified and harmonious state, or put in power a puppet regime that would unquestioningly carry out other peoples' orders.

Under the influence of forces outside Serbia, persistent attempts have been made for quite a long time—and representatives of various foreign factors have even spoken openly about this—to impose on Serbia a Romanian-type scenario for conducting political life, because it is known that Serbia has firmly stood on its feet and is able to conduct its own political life according to democratic rules and is able to make independent decisions.

The aim of these forces is to suppress the prevailing democratic spirit in Serbia, to place a question mark over the achievements that Serbia has painstakingly accomplished, and to make Serbia what it had been not so long ago: a vassal state, but under foreign rule. This is, in fact, why all fronts are being simultaneously opened against Serbia. This is why all its enemies are being mobilized and all internal troubles used, for which Serbia cannot be blamed. This is why citizens' dissatisfaction with the deteriorating social situation is being used skillfully. This is why short-term interests of the citizens are being emphasized as more important and the long- term ones are being suppressed and obscured, those whose realization requires sacrifice.

(?This is why) tomorrow we should continue the negotiations in the SFRY Presidency on the future setup of Yugoslavia. In these circumstances a wave of unconstitutional and uninstitutional attempts of conducting politics in Serbia that we have witnessed in the last few days can benefit all those who want to destabilize it and, while it is wounded in this way, weaken it in the negotiations for a just solution to the position of Serbian people in Yugoslavia and for the preservation of federal Yugoslavia.

Perhaps the most effective means has been offered, namely to force Serbia to abandon Yugoslavia and accept the dictate from the northwest on the division of Yugoslavia into as many independent states as there are republics.

In this way Serbia would have to finally abandon the political ideal, the unification of all Serbian people in one state, with which it has entered the making of Yugoslavia. Serbs would then become separated in several states and great sections of the Serbian people would be transformed in national minorities.

I firmly believe that today, after the adoption of the Constitution and after carrying out multiparty elections, there is not a single reason for clashes among the citizens of Serbia when it comes to the interests of Serbia. Clashes in Serbia are today only possible through a sheer struggle for power. No power that is attained by force, however, can last forever.

Therefore, the structure and dynamics of changes in front of Serbia require democratic and responsible work in the conditions of peace. Serbia can avoid misfortunes and troubles that accompany social changes only if these are carried out without confrontation and without endangering lives.

There is no reason for Serbia, now that it is on the best road toward realizing the honorable ideals of its ancestors, to unnecessarily find itself in the position of calling their realization into question, or even making it completely impossible.

This is why we find it even more difficult that today, at the moment when the Serbian people have definitely freed themselves from subjugation and taken the road of economic and political renewal, a new seed of evil is sown into it with a view to pushing it back into old divisions and schisms.

The leadership of Serbia and, above all, this Assembly, and I personally as the president of the republic, must jointly take over the responsibility of solving these problems openly, publicly, and in a democratic procedure, not through showdowns and conflicts.

I am convinced that the Serbian people will not allow these conflicts to flare up. History would certainly not forgive us that.

Therefore, I call on all deputies, all citizens of Serbia, and the Serbian people on the whole not to be carried away by party interests. Let us jointly decide on our destiny here in the Assembly peacefully and on the basis of arguments and facts, including all the questions that caused the demonstrations that we were confronted with recently. These questions are not of interest to only one party, but to all parties participating in the work of the National Assembly and above all to the citizens of Serbia and the Serbian people in general. Therefore, as president of the Republic, I address this Assembly with the belief that it itself will make the best decisions only if no one takes upon himself the right of a tutor nor guardian of this people's Assembly and if the assembly is in the position to make independent and free decisions on everything that it is constitutionally empowered to do.

The parties operating on the political scene of Serbia must today be conscious of the enormous responsibility that they have before their membership, all citizens of Serbia, and history that in the struggle for their programmatic aims and democracy they do not harm, through their activities, the Serbian people and the Serbian people's firm determination to continue to live—jointly and on an equal footing with other peoples who want to do so—in one democratic and federal state community. The essential condition is their unity and readiness to defend peace and the achievements of their liberational and democratic development, which they have successfully affirmed so many times through history and managed to defend, and which they will manage to do so now.

Therefore, no sensible person can agree to pressure being used to resolve any issue that is of interest to all. All the damage that has been done in recent days has only been done to us, and only we can make up for this damage ourselves. Unfortunately, we will never be able to make up for the two human lives.

As president of the Republic of Serbia, I address all deputies, parties, and citizens of Serbia with the demand that violence against the town, against thought, young people, and state services be immediately stopped. All disagreements and disputes can be discussed in Serbia, publicly, democratically, and within institutions, if this is only a matter of differences in views and if intentions are honorable.

I expect all citizens of Serbia to join me in endeavors to fully introduce peace into the republic and above all in Belgrade, to establish order, and facilitate a normal life.

We established a multiparty system through the Constitution so that it would be possible in Serbian political life to hear and realize all views that can contribute to the prosperity and dignity of the republic. The multiparty system in developed countries and civil democracy at this level of the present development exclude pressures, aggression, and violence among political parties and among their members. We should not allow ourselves to show in establishing this system less prudence and capability for the cultured, civilized, and democratic behavior than the people and states to which we have often served as an historical example through many of our liberated and humanist achievements.

I firmly believe that if we agree here about the basic interests of our republic and its citizens and the interests of the Serbian people as a whole, then there is not one single significant and general issue over which consensus cannot be reached in this Assembly. I call on you to let this Assembly work in this spirit. [applause]

Opposition Parties Set Conditions for Assembly

LD1103230491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The united opposition maintains that opposition deputies should take part in the work of the Serbian Assembly only as long as a real chance exists for it to work above the regime and its obedient apparatus of force and propaganda.

This is stressed in a statement sent to TANJUG this evening, signed on behalf of the Serbian opposition by representatives of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia in Serbia, the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Democratic Party, the National Peasants' Party, and the Association for Yugoslav Democratic initiative.

Valid decisions of the [Serbian] National Assembly can be expected only if it remains under the pressure of the

democratic public and an increasing number of citizens', students', and workers' public rallies, the statement concludes.

Proposed 'Conclusions' to Student Demands

AU1203001491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2327 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Proposed conclusions regarding students demands read at the emergency session of the Serbian Assembly by Vice Prime Minister Prohaska—live]

[Text] Respected National Deputies, Respected Comrades, Gentlemen: I will read you the following text:

The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.

At its session on 11 March 1991, the Serbian government discussed the demands of the Belgrade students and the stands of the Scientific-Educational Council of Belgrade University of 11 March 1991, and in this connection proposes to the Serbian National Assembly that the following conclusions be adopted:

1. Maximum effort be made by all authorities and responsible people to secure conditions for the peaceful life of citizens and the continuation of the incipient democratic processes and thus eliminate the need for the use of measures of repression;

2. The free and unhindered flow of information be ensured, as well as the prompt and full conveyance of information to citizens through all forms of the public media, particularly Belgrade Television;

3. The normal work of Radio and Television Studio-B and Radio B-92 be assured;

4. A legislative commission ascertain facts and responsibility of all protagonists in the events that took place on 9 March;

5. That, as part of the debate on the report of the work of Belgrade Radio and Television, the scheduled session of 20 March 1991 assess the work of Belgrade Radio and Television and its managers and adopt a stand on the work of Belgrade Radio and Television and its managers;

6. That the completion of proceedings against persons against whom proceedings are initiated be speeded as much as possible.

Assembly Receives Student Demands

AU1203012691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0036 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Demands of Belgrade University students read by the president of the Union of Students of Belgrade University at the emergency session of the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] We demand that:

1. Because of the unprovoked, unnecessary, and brutal intervention by the militia against the participants in the demonstrations, Serbian Internal Affairs Minister submit his resignation or be replaced; [applause]

2. In informing the public, Belgrade Television be guided in the future by solely professional journalistic principles and not party or individual interests;

3. The responsible people of Belgrade Television—Dusan Mitevic, Sergej Sestakov, Predrag Vitas, Ivan Krivec, and Slavko Budihna—submit their resignations or be replaced;

4. The unhindered work of the independent television, Studio-B, and Radio 92 be ensured and the materials confiscated during yesterday's intervention be returned immediately and publicly broadcast;

5. Those participants in yesterday's demonstrations who were arrested be released from prison by midnight. This was stated at yesterday's meeting on the student campus.

6. Criminal and other responsibilities be established for all participants in yesterday's demonstrations whose behavior and orders led to tragic consequences for the Serbian people;

7. Units of the Yugoslav People's Army withdraw from the streets of Belgrade;

Finally, the students are not taking an orientation toward any party through these demands, but, by proceeding from principled positions, they are demanding the creation of prerequisites for the true democratization of social relations and the creation of a legal system that will prevent the abuse of either power or democratic achievements.

Precisely because of the demands that have been made, the Union of Students of Belgrade called on students to hold a general strike.

Milosevic Receives Serbian Orthodox Patriarch

LD1103201491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church Pavle and members of the Holy Bishop's Synod.

In the course of talks, which focused on the current problems facing the Serbian people and the Serbian republic, both sides agreed that the Serbian nation faces a historical task of preserving its strength and unity and, thus, foiling forces of the anti-Serbian coalition that want to endanger peace, freedom, justice, and the integrity and democratic constitutional order of the Serbian republic. Serbian citizens, as well as legitimate bodies and institutions of power, should contribute toward this.

Kindling quarrels, sowing hatred, and starting conflicts among the Serbs are contrary to the historical interest of

the Serbian nation, therefore, it is necessary to put an edn to them, the talks stressed. They agreed that it is vital to end all the demonstrations, all efforts to instigate division, all forms of violence, and to transfer the problem-resolving-process to the Serbian Assembly.

The Serbian Government President Dragutin Zelenovic and Serbian Religious Affairs Minister Dragan Dragojlovic participated in the talks betwen Slobodan Milosevic and Patriarch Pavle.

Slovene Presidency Views Army Deployment

AU1003215691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Statement the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia adopted "this evening" on the occasion of yesterday's events in Belgrade—read by announcer]

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has established that the SFRY Presidency has again unlawfully and anti- constitutionally approved of the use of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to intervene in internal political relations in Yugoslavia. This time, contrary to all democratic principles, the SFRY Presidency stood on the side of the ruling political party in Serbia, and deployed JNA units. With such a decision, Slovenia was also involved, against its will, in the internal political events in one of the republics. The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia does not want to assess internal political events in Serbia, but it publicly expresses its regret and protest that crude force, which even claimed human lives, was used against the demonstrators of the Serbian political opposition.

The Presidency of Slovenia does not agree that the use of force may replace democratic dialogue, which is the only reasonable means in overcoming political differences.

The events in Belgrade, in connection with past events ranging from the introduction of state of emergency in Kosovo, Knin unrest, and Pakrac events, show that what is involved is an attempt to gradually bring forward the JNA as a key factor in solving the Yugoslav political crisis.

Slovenia has protested several times against this intention by demanding the JNA's depolitization and its complete withdrawal from the political life of the state.

The decision of the SFRY Presidency concerning Belgrade events is completely contrary to its claims that it wants to assure a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis. These events have confirmed that it was a well founded decision of the Slovene Assembly to adopt the Resolution on Separation that states that only republics can negotiate the solution of the crisis and the peaceful division and that the federal services must not be partners in these negotiations with special interests, other than the ones of the republics. [sentence as heard] The federal services, above all the SFRY Presidency, more and more obviously act in the interests of the leadership of one of the republics. Due to the situation that is making normal activity more and more difficult, the Presidency of Slovenia suggests to the presidencies of other republics that the negotiations on the future should no longer be held in Belgrade.

Presidency on Belgrade Events

LD1003224291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2212 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia maintains that the SFRY Presidency once again approved in an unconstitutional and illegal manner the use of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army to interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

Tonight the Presidency of Slovenia considered the situation in Yugoslavia in the wake of the Belgrade events and the consequences for Slovenia stemming from this. In its statement to the public, the Presidency of Slovenia stresses that it does not accede to replacing democratic dialogue with the use of force and cautions that federal services and the SFRY Presidency are increasingly working to the advantage of one of the republics.

The Presidency of Slovenia suggests that the talks on solving the Yugoslav crisis should no longer be held in Belgrade.

Kucan on Army Involvement

LD1003222891 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] In a statement for Radio Slovenia immediately after a session of the Slovene Presidency held today, [Slovene President] Milan Kucan said that the purpose of the session was not to discuss the Belgrade events on the basis of relations with Serbia, but to discuss the fact that the federal institutions and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] interfered in the events, which also means that the same was indirectly done by Slovenia. Kucan said that these events also show the the justifability of Slovenia's repeated demands that the JNA should be depoliticized to make it impossible to abuse the JNA as a decisive factor and arbiter. Kucan said that if developments continue to go in that direction, it will destroy hopes that the crisis will be resolved in a democratic way.

DELO on 'Apparatus of Repression' of Serbs

LD1103094791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0915 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Mar 11 (TANJUG)—The leading daily in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, DELO of Ljubljana, today assessed Saturday's events in Belgrade as "a savage defence of Milosevic's regime from the eruption of angry dissatisfaction."

The daily cites that the "apparatus of repression ruthlessly beat the Serbs" and that the "mask has definitely fallen even from the faces of the generals" on Saturday. "The Army now cannot justify itself that it is intervening only where there is a danger of clashes between different peoples. In Belgrade it brought out tanks in order to defend the regime with which it shares the same ideology and on whom it depends to survive in the present form."

The daily assesses that "Milosevic's Serbia is the last bastion in Yugoslavia where the basic interests of the authorities coincide with the interests of the army."

DELO writes that a "repetition of Saturday's events is practically unavoidable. The regime will not and cannot be changed and for this reason will feverishly defend itself, but it cannot survive for long."

Peterle Speculates on Independent Slovenia

AU1103100091 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 91 p 4

[Interview with Slovene Executive Council President by Stane Pucko; place and date not given: "Peterle: I Am Counting on Croatia's Wisdom"]

[Text] The government of the Christian Democrat president Lojze Peterle has so far already played an important role in Slovenia's process of becoming independent. After the plebiscite and the Slovene Assembly's endorsement of the resolution on separation, the Slovene government will bear the main burden of the activities surrounding the implementation of the decision on the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia. In the Slovene legislative leadership and particularly in the government, Lojze Peterle belongs to the moderate wing which advocates well-considered actions and decisions.

[Pucko] Mr. President, the international public has interpreted the latest decisions of the Slovene Assembly as the conclusion of the process of becoming independent. Do you agree with this, and how would you comment on it?

[Peterle] I agree with this only in the sense that this involves the conclusion of the formal part of the process of becoming independent. This decision means Slovenia's has legally separated from Yugoslavia as a federation, in this sense, this is the conclusion, but, of course, reaching agreement on specific matters remains the task that will last for a certain period of time.

The Price of Independence

[Pucko] Slovenia now has $5,000 to $6,000 of social product per capita. What trend do you expect in the next three years, that is to say, what will be the economic price of becoming independent in this period and when do you expect more significant economic progress?

[Peterle] I still expect our social product to fall next year, that is to say, I expect minuses in the economy. It would be difficult for me to predict anything more than stagnation in the next few years, but I think that over five years, maybe in the fourth year, we can achieve economic growth. Optimists see this happening in the third year, but considering our view of circumstances in the world and the possible recession on an international scale, I am a bit of a pessimist.

[Pucko] Could you explain the following three characteristics of an independent state in more detail: its economic system, its foreign service, and its own defense?

[Peterle] Regarding the state's economic system, this involves us taking over all the functions of this system, which includes monetary policy, the organization of import-export operations, that is, foreign trade operations, taxation legislation, and so on. Regarding the foreign service, Slovenia is developing a network of representative offices around the world and we already have seven official representatives of the Slovene government, but if there were to be a confederation we could set up joint representative offices. Defense is one of the basic characteristics of sovereignty, so therefore this should be secured, while demilitarization should be a more long-term orientation, that is to say, it is out of the question at the moment.

Talks With Markovic

[Pucko] What is the initial financial basis for the Slovene economic system and what do you expect its sources to be?

[Peterle] Our economy would need somewhat more than $1 billion for the first stage. We have had relatively many offers of capital, but they are not all dependable considering their source. We would like above all to receive secure money in Europe, and some negotiations are under way on this, which are promising.

[Pucko] Financial support from abroad is also linked with recognizing Slovenia as a legitimate international entity. It seems that this problem is difficult to resolve in a short time, while financial support is needed immediately.

[Peterle] Receiving loans, or financial support, is not necessarily linked to international recognition. Money can be received even without this.

[Pucko] Is this also possible through the IMF and the World Bank?

[Peterle] Of course, we cannot receive fresh money from these sources without international recognition. Everything depends on how we will reach agreement in Yugoslavia. If we agree to split into two or more states, the IMF and World Bank will take this agreement into consideration and conclude arrangements with the new states.

[Pucko] There has been speculation about the new Slovene currency. We respect the government's right to

keep such an important issue secret, but can you, nonetheless, say something more specific about this?

[Peterle] Because we have prepared for the introduction of the new currency, that is to say, because we consider this to be inevitable, this will be done sooner or later, but I cannot speak about the date.

[Pucko] Political views in Slovenia are quite divided regarding Slovenia's defense. Will the Slovene state be expensive, or rather, more expensive than hitherto, considering all previous and possible future contributions to the federation?

[Peterle] The Slovene state will be cheaper when it takes over all the sovereignty functions, and considerably cheaper in the sphere of defense.

[Pucko] Can you say how the latest talks with Prime Minister Markovic ended?

[Peterle] The talks ended without an agreement or accord. This is obviously a question of such different concepts and an assessment of realistic possibilities that agreement could simply not be reached.

[Pucko] In which spheres will the Slovene government continue to cooperate with the federal government and until when?

[Peterle] We have put forward our view of the minimum required for the federal state to function because we do not want an uncontrolled collapse of the state and, while we are reaching agreement, the state must function. Mr. Markovic has different views on this. We are prepared to finance certain functions of the federation in line with the six month deadline set by the referendum by contributing a fixed sum.

Withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army

[Pucko] This primarily involves the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] withdrawing from the territory of Slovenia. Are you going to insist on this?

[Peterle] Sovereignty also includes our own defense and I am sure that an agreement is possible within this deadline set by the referendum, but it is not possible to completely resolve the issues surrounding the JNA. It is clear, however, that Slovenia will have to gradually take over the function of defense.

[Pucko] In the inter-republican talks which have just ended, economic cooperation was left up to the governments. What will be the initiative of the Slovene government?

[Peterle] The Slovene government cooperated in the talks with all republics and said that, regardless of the final result of the talks in Yugoslavia, serious economic cooperation is in our interests.

[Pucko] Would it be easier to resolve the economic issues concerning Slovenia's process of becoming independent together with Croatia?

[Peterle] Yes, I see this to be in the interest of both republics.

[Pucko] How do you therefore conceive the borders with Croatia?

[Peterle] I definitely do not mean the border to be formalized in the sense that we would close it in any way. This border will be formal regardless of the fact that, as a state border, it will mean something more. I am counting on the fact that Croatia's and Slovenia's similar views will facilitate some kind of agreement between the two republics and that economic issues will be settled in such a way that the borders will not have to be formalized.

Desire: An Economic Community

[Pucko] Does this mean that a passport will be necessary for travel from Zagreb to Ljubljana?

[Peterle] No, I do not conceive it like this.

[Pucko] Can you say when Slovenia will introduce its own passports?

[Peterle] I think that this could be expected by next winter.

[Pucko] Considering the acceptance of the latest resolutions in the Croatian Assembly, can you forecast the form of future relations on the territory of the SFRY. Does this coincide with the desires of the Slovene government and your personnel desires?

[Peterle] I am sure that there would be some point in seeking a form of cohabitation within the present community on the territory of Yugoslavia, if for no other reason than for the sake of the economy. Unfortunately, many economic interests are concealed or subsumed by political interests, which makes normal economic links impossible. I am convinced that there will be an economic association in the future, but it would be difficult to talk about this in detail because concepts in Yugoslavia are very different.

[Pucko] What kind of specific political and economic association would be most suitable and necessary for Slovenia, if, of course, talks were to fail on association within the framework of the present SFRY?

[Peterle] Our economy is already distinctly directed toward the West but we operate a smaller part on the territory of the present Yugoslavia. We would like good cooperation with all neighbors, above all Croatia. I would like some kind of economic community to be created, between all those who would want this for common interests.

[Pucko] Do you want to say anything else for VJESNIK readers that you have not been asked about?

[Peterle] I would like to say that I am counting on the political wisdom of the people of Croatia in cases when

unofficial stands on some moves are publicized in Slovenia that then disturb the people of Slovenia and Croatia.

I would also like to explain to the wider public that I could not take part in the interview on Croatian Television last week because I received the invitation the day before and I could no longer change the already planned program (in Cologne).

Zagreb Daily Says Serbia Seeks Civil War

LD1103125291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—The daily VJESNIK of Zagreb, Croatia, today writes that Serbia's strategy of forcing a civil war on Yugoslavia in order to keep an absolutist regime in power has boomeranged.

Commenting [on] the demonstrations staged by the Serbian opposition in Belgrade, on Saturday, in which demonstrators and the police clashed, VJESNIK says that "Serbia has found itself in the middle of a whirlwind it, itself, has created."

Analyzing the role of Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic in the latest developments, the Zagreb daily writes that "the one who began his rise by playing the role of the guardian of the people is coming to an end by firing at his people."

"The one who had pledged the arrests of political leaders of other nations at hysterical rallies, is already arresting leaders of his own nation," VJESNIK writes about Milosevic.

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK, however, accuses also leaders of the Serbian opposition of "cynically celebrating until only a few days ago the hardships of others and the absence of freedom for others."

VJESNIK says that leader of the opposition Serbian Renewal Movement Vuk Draskovic, who has been arrested as the organizer of the Belgrade demonstrations, "kept silent when Vllasi (former leader of ethnic Albanians in the Province of Kosovo) was arrested."

"Virtually the entire Serbian opposition had competed with the authorities in spreading hatred for and threats against all others in Yugoslavia," VJESNIK writes.

The Zagreb daily describes as Serbia's historical drama "the fact that it is turning out to be virtually the only one in Europe which is not succeeding in breaking with Communism without bloodshed."

Overnight Explosion Reported in Knin

LD1103150991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1434 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, March 11 (TANJUG)—A powerful explosion shook the town of Knin just before midnight between Sunday and Monday.

Police said the explosive device had gone off in the courtyard of a Catholic church. The blast shattered windows on the church and nearby buildings. The inquiry is being conducted by Knin and Sibenik police. Knin is a town in southern Croatia with a predominantly Serbian population.

Campaign to Stem Albanian Emigration Starts

AU1003165791 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 27 Feb 91 p 4

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "Campaign To Stem Albanian Emigration Starts"]

[Text] Pristina, 26 Feb—The five-week strike of Serbian and Montenegrin teachers in Kosovo elementary and secondary schools ended yesterday after they were promised that their salaries will be raised to match those of their colleagues in Serbia. It is expected that their other demand, for the suspension of funds for Albanian-language teaching in schools that do not use the Serbian curriculum, will also be met. While Albanian teachers are waiting to see what will happen to Albanian education, the penal prosecution of some head teachers of Albanian schools in Gnjilane continues, while the salaries of 56 teachers at the Muharrem Bekteshi High School in Vucitrn and 20 teachers the Mosa Pijade High School in Urosevac, all teachers of the most junior grades, have been stopped. It is feared that the Albanian classes at the Brodosan building of the Emin Duraku High School in Dragas will be stopped. A meeting of head teachers of Albanian schools (such as those in Pristina and Mitrovica), announces in a protest that classes will not stop, despite the blocking of funds for Albanian schools.

The International Teachers Union Defends Albanian Education

This repression of Albanian education in Kosovo has been noticed by the international public. The Amsterdam-based World Union of Teachers Unions informed all its national branches throughout the world of the repressive measures of the Serbian state against Albanian-language education, asking the governments of these countries to exert pressure on Yugoslavia and Serbia, with the aim of protecting the cultural identity of the Albanians in Kosovo. This international teachers union also protested to the president of the SFRY Presidency and the president of Serbia, demanding an end to such devastating measures against Albanian education.

Among the repressive measures against Albanian education in Kosovo, one must also mention the still unsolved problem of the nonenrollment of Albanian students at the Pristina Medical Faculty for the winter semester. Musa Haxhiu, president of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts, visited the rectorate yesterday regarding this problem. There are no details of his talks with representatives of the rectorate. It is understood that the only solution offered by Pristina University

Prorector Misa Doslic has been simultaneous translation (!) for the Albanian students.

Hasan Prishtina Council for the Prevention of Albanian Emigration Formed

An all-people's campaign has started In Kosovo in recent days, similar to that to settle blood feuds last year. This is the campaign to prevent the emigration of Albanians, whose migration toward Western countries has recently intensified. The first gathering of this kind (others will be held in different parts of Kosovo) was organized in the village of Polat in Drenica. Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Dr. Masar Rizvanolli, Dr. Shkelzen Raca, etc. spoke in front of several hundred local inhabitants. Their common theme was that we must on no account abandon our age-old territories, because such a step would only help Serbian hegemonist policies that wish to change by force the national structure of Kosovo, to the detriment of the Albanians. It was therefore decided to form throughout Kosovo councils for the prevention of Albanian emigration, and the first, formed in Polat, took the name of the great Albanian patriot Hasan Prishtina [Keshilli per Pengimin e Shperngulljes se Shqiptareve "Hasan Prishtina"]. This council, together with the Forum of Democratic Youth [Forumi i Rinise Demokratike] and the Association for Recording and Repatriating Albanian Emigrants [Shoqata per Evidentimin dhe Riatdhesimin e Shqiptareve te Shperngulur], will make efforts not only to prevent new emigration but to bring back all earlier emigrants.

In recent days, the Serbian police have also intensified its raids among some Kosovo towns. For instance, militiamen surrounded the markets yesterday in Pec, Djakovica, and Lipljan and confiscated goods and hard currency. Witnesses say that they were looking for weapons, but, not finding any, they took goods from traders instead. Another event that upset the people of Pec yesterday related to the maneuvers of Yugoslav People's Army units at Radavac, during which shots struck various roofs and homes of local residents, distressing the Albanians.

The Serbian state is not content to raid and plunder citizens, but is also raiding and plundering entire Kosovo enterprises that were highly successful until recently. After the seizure of the economic giants (Trepca, Balkan, Elektroekonomia, Agrokosova, Eximkos, the United Bank of Kosovo, etc.) enforced measures have also brought the Vocar Retail Enterprise of Pristina to the brink of collapse. This enterprise's plan has only been fulfilled by 10 percent (!), bringing it to the verge of bankruptcy. The Germia department stores in Pristina have had "exceptional turnover" in recent days. Since their "purchase" by a Belgrade retail enterprise, these stores have found it almost impossible to give their goods away. They have now been selling goods at discounts of up to 50 percent, solely to clear their stocks for the new owner!

Perhaps one piece of good news in Kosovo among all the bad is that following appeals by about 40 Kosovo tradesmen whose shops were closed after 3 September last year [day of Kosovo general strike], the Supreme Court of Serbia has decided seven or eight of these appeals, all positively and in favor of the Albanian applicants. "Politically closed" stores are therefore beginning to reopen.

Albanian Groups Deny 'Uprising' Planned

LD1103113291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, March 11 (TANJUG)—The Democrtic Alliance and the Peasants' Party of ethnic Albanians in the Serbian Province of Kosovo have called on their members to refrain from provocations and demonstrations.

We ask our members and sympathizers to refrain from provocations and not to give any reason for possible clashes, says a statement issued by the two parties published in the Pristina daily SKENDIJA on Monday.

The statement says that rumours that ethnic Albanians will stage a national uprising today to mark the tenth anniversary of demonstrations are lies, aimed at arousing provocations and bloodshed so as to divert the attention of the public from the deep political and economic crisis in Serbia.

Riots in Pristina on March 11, 1981 turned into mass demonstrations, demanding the status of republic to the Serbian Province of Kosovo. The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and other alternative organizations which rally ethnic Albanians have been saying over the past few days that the 1981 events would be marked peacefully, through talks, debates and articles in the press.

In this spirit, the latest issue of the student Albanian-language paper BOTA E RE is wholly devoted to the March 1981 demonstrations and their chief organizers.

Additional Police Seen in Pristina Streets

AU1103170391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Despite the fact that Albanian parties called on their members not to mark the 10th anniversary of demonstrations with unrest on the streets, there is nevertheless tension in Pristina.

[Mihajlovic] On the recommendation of the Albanian alternative movement, a number of Albanian students at Pristina University organized discussion forums and seminars today to mark the 10th anniversary of the first demonstrations by separatists in 1981. Discussion forums have been held in the lecture theaters of several Pristina faculties.

Otherwise, tension prevails in the main town of Kosovo and Metohija, despite the fact that the Albanian parties called on their members not to mark the anniversary of demonstrations with unrest on the streets. It can be noticed that police forces have been strengthened on the streets. One armored personnel carrier [transporter] belonging to the police was placed at the junction in front of the Student Center and another at the junction in the center of the town at 1300.

Tension has been manifested by the fact that there was a whistling duel last night between student halls in which Serbian students live and those inhabited by Albanian students.

In today's statement by the Presidium of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the largest party of Albanians in the province, it is assessed that the demonstrations in Belgrade were expected and predictable. Current Serbian policy is the main culprit for this development of events, the statement says.

It also rejects all insinuations concerning any link between the Serbian opposition parties and the Albanian alternative movement in Kosovo and Metohija.

1,100 Albanians Cross Into Montenegro

LD1003181291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Titograd, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Albania is continuing. After a group of 550 people were permitted to cross from Albania into Montenegro a few days ago, to the border crossing at Bozaj, near Titograd, today a second group of 1,100 inhabitants of Vraka, Shkoder, and its environs, who are demanding the same, has pushed its way through.

Border customs officials report that the Albanian authorities allowed the crossing and a decision by Yugoslavia's authorities is expected.

The Montenegrin government, as a result of this problem, is again in extraordinary session and in constant contact with the Federal Executive Council. At Bozaj, everything is otherwise prepared for the possible acceptance of the refugees, but for the time being it is not known where so many people will be accommodated, because there were many problems in this respect with the previous group.

Mirkovic Confirms 'Yugoslav' Nature of Army

AU1003210091 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 91 p 9

[M. Duric report: "Spegelj Cannot Avoid Responsibility"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 26 February—[passage omitted] General Stevan Mirkovic, one of the leaders of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, stressed last night during the Sarajevo Television program "The Skill of Living," that the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia is one of the strongest parties in Yugoslavia.

In reply to a question on the extent to which the Yugoslav People's Army is Serbian, General Mirkovic said that the Army is Serbian, which no one can deny, because a large number of Serbs in it are officers. If one just looked at the number of Serbs, it is predominantly Serbian. It is not necessary to explain that it essentially is not Serbian nor does it serve Serbian policy and the Serbian leadership, it is Croatian and Slovene, it is Yugoslav, General Mirkovic said.

In his opinion, thinking about the Army coincides with thinking about Yugoslavia, and above all the federation. No one has succeeded who has tried to set up a national army, not even those who are now claiming this. The Army remains Yugoslav.

"At the moment when, for example, Serbian policy were to change and become what is now, for example, Croatian policy against Yugoslavia, the Army would be against such a policy because it is a Yugoslav army," Mirkovic said.

In reply to a question on whether the Army will arrest Spegelj, Mirkovic said that: "It certainly will. I think that he does not have any chance of avoiding taking responsibility for what he has done."

Mirkovic said that the destruction of the monument to the people's hero Stjepan Filipovic, a Croat who died in the Serbian Partisans, was a disgrace.

Replying to a question on whether Admiral Mamula could become a new Tito, which is an ambition that Western countries are accusing him, General Mirkovic said: "No, not under any circumstances." [passage omitted]

BORBA Says Nation Nearing Minimal Accord

LD1103134191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1155 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—The daily BORBA assesses on Monday that the federal and republican governments were drawing nearer to an accord on the necessary minimum for the functioning of Yugoslavia until an agreement was reached on the country's future.

Signatures of the republican prime ministers, as assessed by the close-to-federal government Belgrade daily BORBA, could be taken that the federal government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic would be able to implement its reform drives, and especially the legislation as insisted on by foreign creditors, headed by the International Monetary Fund.

The daily notes that the republican prime ministers "understood that without the international support there

could be no survival and that the support was not forthcoming without single, but democratic state of Yugoslavia."

"The softening of earlier stands of the republican prime ministers was contributed to," the daily sets outs," also by the firm stand of all world statesmen and institution as that they would assist only a single Yugoslav state, one attained through democratic means."

Official Warns Against Economic Disarray

LD1003155191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1338 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—If no agreement on minimal conditions for normal functioning of the economy is reached soon "social tensions may escalate" in Yugoslavia, president of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy Dagmar Suster has told TANJUG.

One-third of the employed did not recieve their wages in January while public expenditure remained the same, said suster. He reiterated the chamber's earlier demand that public expenditure be cut down by at least 20 percent.

If the drastic production fall, which reached 18 percent in January, continued, it would threaten even the Yugoslav state, warned Suster.

'Optimistic' Inflation Figures 'Refuted'

LD0903041891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0214 GMT 9 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Optimistic predictions by Yugoslav government experts having it that the last February inflation growth rate would run lower than the last January one have been refuted by the Federal Institute for Statistics: instead of 5.5 per cent, as prognosticated, retail prices in this year's 2nd month went up by 9.2 per cent.

The prices jumping in February (they went up by 5.9 per cent in January) not only posed an additional threat to the already low living standards of a majority of the Yugoslavs, but also are threatening to slow the started transformation of Yugoslavia's economic system.

Among other things, the rushing off of prices in February caused suspicions about the government's estimates being realistic that this year's inflation growth would not run beyond 40 per cent. The prices for many products and services have been still growing beyond expectations, and this is pointing to the possibility of the inflation's rush off again, although it was cut by way of heavy self-denials of 2,665 per cent overall in 1989 all way down to 121 per cent in 1990.

To reduce the growing inflation is one of the fundamental objectives of the government's programme of reforms in the national economic system. The government is not giving the said objective up regardless of resistance being put up in the way, but is even going to introduce still tighter measures, particularly so in the domain of limiting public expenditures and pays.

A repetition of the February inflation this month would narrow possibilities for Yugoslavia's national economy to come to fresh banking credits abroad. What is more, it would throw cold water on the interest of potential foreign investors.

Further, this year Yugoslavia is due to repay over four billion dollars in debts. Its foreign exchange reserves are short of money. However, the Gulf war has all but paralysed a part of Yugoslavia's building construction enterprise so that nearly every fourth firm in Yugoslavia is making loss-incurring business. But, this is only a part of problems following the now privatization of big sectors in Yugoslavia's national economy.

So, small wonder that just from the national economy, to begin with branch associations and all the way up to the nation's Chamber of Economy, the fiercest of criticisms are being hurled at the government and it is being demanded from it, above all, to take urgent measures for reshaping its too much restrictive credit-and-monetary system and prune taxes away.

A thing not certain is how long the government will be capable of sticking to its anti-inflationary course. Certain, however, is that the present unstable situation in the country brings its influence to bear on inflationary trends and endangers the courses of reforms in the national economic system.

Daily Views 'Albanization' of Macedonia

LD0803142191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—"Following the first multiparty elections, the Macedonian Assembly is slowly becoming the launching site for attempts to destroy the foundations of the Macedonian state. What has been happening in the past few days in 'the holy shrine of Macedonianism' [Makedonstvo] has certainly not been registered in any other legislature in the world." [punctuation as received]

"Vebi Dzemaili, a deputy of the Albanian party, i.e. the Party for Democratic Prosperity, stated from the floor of the Macedonian Assembly that geographical names in Macedonia are not in the Macedonia language but in Serbian and that Macedonia is solely a regional unit [banovina]. A few day later, Hisni Sakiri, another deputy of the same party, predicted in the same building that Albanian will be spoken in the Macedonian Assembly one day," Jube Profiloski writes.

"These two cases confirm the thesis that the overall activity of the Albanian nationalists and separatists in the multiparty life of Macedonia is channeled through the PDP and the National Democratic Party, which took it upon themselves to achieve objectives previously

propogated by an illegal separatist leadership. All nationalist and separatist manifestations, previously staged at night, gained a legal basis. Citizens who viewed the emergence of these two parties as a lifeline for coexistence between Macedonians and Albanians have been disappointed," the NOVA MAKEDONIJA commentary stresses.

What could be their true interest when a representative of the Albanians in Macedonia speaks in Serbo-Croat and threatens that Albania will be spoken in the assembly one day? Following a convincing victory of these two parties at the municipal elections, Macedonians in the western part of the republic live in fear and uncertainty in their own state, and the process of Albanization is in full swing in this part of Macedonia," the Skopje daily writes.

"Rumor has it that a written text in the form of a declaration of autonomy for the Albanians in western Macedonia, similar to the declaration on the Knin Krajina in Croatia, has been prepared. The text should be passed to the Albanian deputies in the Macedonian Assembly," NOVA MAKEDONIJA concludes.

New Muslim Community Leader Elected

LD1003102991 Tehran IRNA in English 0803 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 10, IRNA—Jakub Selimoski was elected the new reis-ul-ulema of Yugoslavia's five million Muslim believers by a special electoral body in Sarajevo on Saturday.

He was elected when already in the first round of elections he won 67 votes of a 96-member electoral body.

This was the first time that the reis-ul-ulema was elected in the postwar history of Yugoslavia. In previous cases the person was appointed for the post more or less under the influence of communist regime.

The new reis-ul-ulema is 45. He graduated in 1972 from the faculty of the Arabic language, history and civilizations of al-Azhar University in Cairo.

Selimoski, who was acting reis-ul-ulema is a Macedonian by nationality and a member of World Council of Mosques. He speaks Arabic, Albanian, Turkish and Macedonian languages apart from the Serbo-Croatian. He will be in the post for 8 years.